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ABSTRACT

This document evaluates classroom materials which are used to teach secondary students in history and government courses about the right to work issue. The book is presented in six chapters. Chapter I explains that the scope of the project was to review over 180 classroom and other educational materials to evaluate their treatment of the right to work issue. Forty-eight texts were found to discuss the issue unfairly or inaccurately. Chapter II provides an index of the 48 objectionable textbooks and lists states which have approved each text for classroom use on a statewide basis. Chapter III offers evaluations of the 48 texts. Each evaluation gives information on title, author, publisher, and a point-by-point criticism of bias and/or inaccuracy. Chapter IV presents information derived from statistical studies and public opinion polls relating to labor union growth, collective bargaining, and job opportunities in union shop organizations. Chapter V presents basic facts related to right to work laws and a sample right to work law. The final chapter lists over 50 American history and government textbooks that do not discuss the right to work issue at all. (DB)

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CLASSROOM TREATMENT OF THE RIGHT TO WORK

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Revised October 1978

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. INTRODUCTION

II. INDEX OF TITLES

An alphabetical listing of the textbooks evaluated in this report. After each title is a listing of the states which have approved that text for classroom use on a state-wide basis.

III. TEXT EVALUATIONS

These evaluations appear in alphabetical order (by title).

IV. SUPPLEMENTS TO EVALUATIONS

Item A - "So-Called Comment on 'So-Called'"
Item B - "Unions Thriving in Right to Work States"
Item C - "Who Is Labor?"
Item D - "Growth of States Compared"
Item E - "Compulsory Representation Opposed By Public"

V. THE FACTS ABOUT RIGHT TO WORK LAWS

VI. TEXTBOOKS THAT DO NOT DISCUSS THE RIGHT TO WORK ISSUE OR SECTION 14(b) OF THE TAFT-HARTLEY LAW

I. INTRODUCTION

It is the belief of the National Right to Work Committee and its educational division, Concerned Educators Against Forced Unionism (CEAFU), that a thorough and factual study of the Right to Work issue is essential to any class room presentation of the American Labor Movement.

Since 1975, CEAFU researchers have reviewed over 180 classroom materials for high school history and government courses to evaluate their treatment of the Right to Work issue.

Of those materials, 77 discussed the issue. Of those that discussed the issue, 48 (or 62%) discussed it unfairly, inaccurately, or both. Evaluations of those texts found objectionable are included in this report. Each evaluation includes, in addition to title, author, and publisher, a point by point evaluation of its bias or inaccuracy.

In twenty states, high school textbooks used in public school classrooms must first be approved by that state's department of education. Current history and government textbook adoption lists were obtained from these states. All available texts on those lists were reviewed.

In addition, other history and government materials were reviewed. These included basal texts not on any of those 20 statewide adoption lists (that may nonetheless be used in any of the remaining 30 states) and supplemental materials made available to classrooms throughout the country by textbook publishers, universities, and special interest groups such as unions and businesses.

All materials were reviewed solely for their treatment of the Right to Work and directly related issues.

II. INDEX OF TITLES

In the following alphabetical listing of textbook titles, immediately after each title, we have listed the states which approve that text for use in their schools. However, it is important to note that only 20 states adopt textbooks at the state level; the remaining 30 states delegate the responsibility of textbook selection to the individual school districts. For that reason, although it may not be indicated below that a text is approved statewide by a certain state, the text may still be in use in that state.

The following states adopt textbooks at the state level:

*Alabama	Idaho	*Nevada	*South Carolina
*Arkansas	Indiana	New Mexico	*Tennessee
*Florida	Kentucky	*North Carolina	*Texas
*Georgia	*Louisiana	Oklahoma	*Utah
Hawaii	*Mississippi	Oregon	*Virginia

*These states have Right to Work laws.

THE AMERICAN ECONOMY: ANALYSIS, ISSUES, PRINCIPLES
Not on any state textbook adoption list

AMERICAN GOVERNMENT
Arkansas, Louisiana

AMERICAN GOVERNMENT, CONTINUITY AND CHANGE
Not on any state textbook adoption list

AMERICAN GOVERNMENT IN ACTION
Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Idaho, Indiana, Kentucky, Mississippi, Nevada, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Carolina, Tennessee, Utah, Virginia

AMERICAN LABOR: A BICENTENNIAL HISTORY
Not on any state textbook adoption list

THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT
Not on any state textbook adoption list

AMERICAN LABOR UNIONS, WHAT THEY ARE AND HOW THEY WORK
Not on any state textbook adoption list

AMERICAN STUDIES, A CONCEPTUAL APPROACH
Not on any state textbook adoption list

AMERICA'S POLITICAL SYSTEM
Not on any state textbook adoption list

DOLLARS AND SENSE
Georgia

ECONOMICS AND SOCIETY
Not on any state textbook adoption list

(continued)

ECONOMICS AND THE AMERICAN SYSTEM
Arkansas, Georgia, Idaho, Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Carolina, Tennessee, Utah, Virginia

ECONOMICS FOR DECISION-MAKING - VIRGINIA

ECONOMICS FOR YOUNG ADULTS - VIRGINIA

ECONOMICS, INSTITUTIONS AND ANALYSIS
Not on any state textbook adoption list

EXPLORING OUR NATION'S HISTORY, VOLUME II, THE AGE OF GREATNESS
Arkansas, Georgia, Oregon

FOUNDATIONS IN SOCIAL STUDIES: FREE ENTERPRISE IN AMERICA - VIRGINIA

GENERAL BUSINESS FOR ECONOMIC UNDERSTANDING
Not on any state textbook adoption list

GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE, NATIONAL EDITION
Tennessee

GOVERNMENT IN OUR REPUBLIC
Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Idaho, Mississippi, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Utah

HISTORY: USA
Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, New Mexico, Oregon, Tennessee

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE AMERICAN ECONOMY
Not on any state textbook adoption list

LABOR IN AMERICA, A HISTORY
Not on any state textbook adoption list

LABOR IN LEARNING: PUBLIC SCHOOL TREATMENT OF THE WORLD OF WORK
Not on any state textbook adoption list

THE LABOR MOVEMENT, AN AMERICAN READER BOOK
Not on any state textbook adoption list

THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES (Barbash)
Not on any state textbook adoption list

THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES (Flagler)
Not on any state textbook adoption list

LABOR UNIONS, PROGRESS AND PROMISE
Not on any state textbook adoption list

MAGRUDER'S AMERICAN GOVERNMENT
Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Idaho, Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Oregon, Tennessee, Texas, Utah

(continued)

ONE NATION, AN AMERICAN GOVERNMENT TEXT WITH READINGS
Not on any state textbook adoption list

OUR AMERICAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICAL SYSTEM
Virginia

OUR AMERICAN HERITAGE
Not on any state textbook adoption list

OUR DEMOCRACY AT WORK
Not on any state textbook adoption list

A PEOPLE AND A NATION
Virginia

PERSPECTIVES IN UNITED STATES HISTORY
Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Idaho, Louisiana, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Oregon, Tennessee, Texas, Utah

THE PROMISE OF DEMOCRACY
Virginia

PROBLEMS OF DEMOCRACY, POLITICAL, SOCIAL, ECONOMIC
Arkansas, Georgia, Indiana, Louisiana, Mississippi, Nevada, New Mexico, Oklahoma

THE SHAPING OF AMERICA (THE SHAPING OF AMERICAN CIVILIZATION SINCE 1865)
Arkansas, Idaho, Oregon, Tennessee, Utah, Nevada

THE STORY OF LABOR IN AMERICAN HSITORY
Not on any state textbook adoption list

SUCCEEDING IN THE WORLD OF WORK
Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, Tennessee

TODAY'S PROBLEMS: SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC ISSUES FACING AMERICA
Not on any state textbook adoption list

TOIL AND TROUBLE: A HISTORY OF AMEIRCAN LABOR
Not on any state textbook adoption list

UNDERSTANDING OUR GOVERNMENT, WITH CASES AND PROBLEMS
Arkansas, Georgia, Tennessee

UNIONS AND WHAT THEY DO
Not on any state textbook adoption list

THE UNITED STATES
Not on any state textbook adoption list

USING ECONOMICS
Not on any state textbook adoption list

YOU AS AN EMPLOYEE IN THE WORLD OF WORK
Hawaii

YOUR WORK AND YOUR CAREER
Not on any state textbook adoption list

III. TEXTBOOK EVALUATIONS

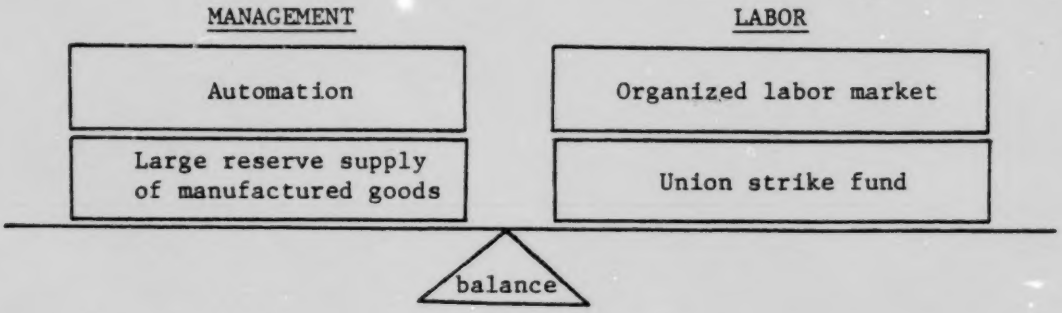
TEXT EVALUATION

THE AMERICAN ECONOMY: ANALYSIS, ISSUES, PRINCIPLES; Sampson; Houghton-Mifflin Company, 1972

Text

The Taft-Hartley Act forbade (1) the jurisdictional strike..., (2) the secondary boycott..., and (3) the closed shop (where only union members are hired). The union shop remained, but the states were given the right to prohibit union shops and many states have done so. Such laws are frequently referred to as "right-to-work" laws.(1)

Many factors determine the bargaining strength of labor(2).



Size of Labor Market
A large supply of workers in proportion to the available jobs weakens labor's position.

Automation
The more easily labor can be replaced by machines, the weaker its position.

Competition
Presence of a rival union divides the loyality of organized labor, weakens its posture.

Extent of Unionization
Full union membership strengthens labor's hand.

Competition
A rival firm within the industry weakens management's position.

Financial Status
A sound financial condition is essential for both labor unions and management.

Storability of Product
Labor's position is weakened if the manufactured goods can be stored.

(pp. 302-303)

(continued)

Evaluation

(1) Right to Work laws are called exactly that, not "frequently referred to as..." Eleven states had Right to Work laws prior to the Taft-Hartley Act and nine have passed them since its enactment.

(2) The use of the term "labor" in this chart, as in a good portion of the text, is misleading since it is meant to refer to labor unions or labor union officials. (See Item C, attached.)

NOTE: In discussions of the labor market it is essential to mention somewhere that "organized labor" (that is, workers belonging to a labor union) comprise only 20.1% of the entire work force. The viewpoint of organized labor union officials may very well contradict that of individual workers, even the majority opinion. The Right to Work laws are a case in point: The major labor unions actively seek their repeal, yet a Roper opinion poll in March, 1977, showed that 49% of union members surveyed favored the working arrangement in which "a man can hold a job whether or not he belongs to a union," over the arrangement in which "a man can get a job if he doesn't belong, but has to join after he is hired."

TEXT EVALUATION

AMERICAN GOVERNMENT; George G. Bruntz & John Bremer; Ginn & Company

Text

> The Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin acts put some major restrictions on union power. Some states (nineteen in 1964) have gone even farther by passing so-called(1) "right-to-work" laws. Such a law forbids the existence of any requirement that a worker must join a union in order to keep his job...
>
> Supporters of right-to-work laws include workers who do not want to pay union dues, employers who want to weaken existing union power, and business interests seeking to prevent further unionization in order to hold down labor costs in the state(2). Unions, of course, see right-to-work laws as a threat to union growth(3). And they contend that all workers who benefit from collective bargaining agreements should help pay the costs of running the union(4). (pp. 479-480)

Evaluation

(1) By 1976 there were 20 Right to Work states. The use of "so-called" lends an aura of illegitimacy to legitimate laws. (See Item A, attached.)

(2) This sentence implies that Right to Work laws are supported only by people who wish to weaken or destroy unions. The Right to Work, in fact, is supported by people from all corners of society, including both union and non-union members. (In a survey conducted by the Roper Organization in February 1977, 49% of the union members surveyed favored the working arrangement in which a "man can hold a job whether or not he belongs to a union" over the arrangement in which "a man can get a job if he doesn't already belong, but has to join after he is hired.")

(3) The overall tone of these last two sentences is one of imbalance. In fact, there is no evidence that Right to Work laws threaten union growth; there is evidence to the contrary. (See "Unions Thriving in Right to Work States, Item B, attached.)

(4) Under the "exclusive representation" provisions of bargaining agreements, unions demand the right to represent all workers in a unit whether the individuals choose to join or not (under the Wagner Act of 1935). Non-union members contend they did not ask to be so represented and therefore, should not be required to pay for it. (See Item E attached.)

TEXT EVALUATION

AMERICAN GOVERNMENT, CONTINUITY AND CHANGE; Schick, Pfister, & Anderson; Houghton-Mifflin Company, 1975

Text

> The New Deal period (1933-1941) saw the enactment of a series of laws designated to provide federal protection for labor and labor unions(1). (p. 485)
>
> ...Every state regulates the activities of labor unions. Generally speaking, state labor legislation is intended to curb undesirable union practices. Roughly one-third of all the states have "right-to-work" laws, which specify that no person may be compelled to join a labor union as a condition of employment. Most unions consider such laws a threat to their existence and seek to have them repealed(2). (p. 489)

Evaluation

(1) This is a good example of objective reporting by noting the difference between "labor" and "labor unions". We commend this type of treatment. (See Item C, attached.)

(2) Twenty states (40%) have Right to Work laws as a protection of individual rights, considerably more than roughly 1/3. This discussion of the Right to Work issue is entirely too superficial in the light of its political impact and historical significance in labor relations. Although "most unions consider such laws a threat to their existence", the facts prove otherwise. (See Item B, attached.)

To be a fair, unbiased presentation, the rebuttal viewpoint should also be discussed. For example, the Roper Survey released in March, 1978, revealed that 49% of the union members surveyed favored the working arrangement in which a "man can hold a job whether or not he belongs to a union", over the arrangement in which a "man can get a job if he doesn't already belong, but has to join after he is hired."

By the same token, Right to Work laws in no way interfere with the legitimate activities of unions to organize and gain new members. (See Item B.)

TEXT EVALUATION

AMERICAN GOVERNMENT IN ACTION; Miriam Roher Resnick & lillian Herlich Nerenberg; Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company, 1969

Text

> ...about two-fifths of the states, most of them in agricultural areas, have made the union shop illegal by passing so-called(1) "right-to-work" laws. In other states, right-to-work laws have been defeated by those who maintain that the right to unionize is an important aspect of the right to hold a job(2).
>
> A compromise arrangement now permitted in some states is the agency shop(3) -- a plan whereby workers in an industry who do not want to join the union pay a monthly service charge to the union in exchange for its collective bargaining services. Since they do not pay full union dues, they are not considered union members and are not entitled to receive other union benefits such as union-sponsored retirement or hospitalization plans. (p. 421)

Evaluation

(1) "So-called" lends an aura of illegitimacy to legitimate laws. (See Item A, attached.)

(2) This sentence strongly implies that Right to Work laws prohibit unionization. This is false. Right to Work laws guarantee the right to join a union. The basic premise of Right to Work laws is that no person should be compelled, as a condition of employment, to join or not to join a labor union.

(3) In calling the "agency shop" a "compromise arrangement", this phrase expresses only the opinion of "agency shop" proponents. Right to Work supporters consider the "agency shop" another form of compulsion and do not accept it as a compromise.

TEXT EVALUATION

AMERICAN LABOR: A BICENTENNIAL HISTORY; M. B. Schnapper; Public Affairs Press, 1975

*Text

Vigilantes Roam the Streets

Weapons used by vigilantes during strikes were often obtained from arsenals stocked by anti-union employers, according to findings of the LaFollette Committee. Above is a photo of "citizen-police" roaming the streets of Ambridge, Pennsylvania during the Spang-Chalfant strike in 1933. Below is a picture of "loyal workers" who blocked off access to a Monroe, Michigan, steel plant during a strike in June, 1936. It later turned out that many of these "loyal workers" were imported strikebreakers.
(p. 502)

These photos, taken in October 1933, show deputized gunmen of steel companies attacking pickets outside the Spang-Chalfant Tube plant in Ambridge, Pennsylvania. Bullets felled fifteen of the fleeing strikers as tear gas billowed through the streets. One worker, shot in the back, died while being rushed to a hospital. Terror reigned in Ambridge for weeks.(1)
(p. 503)

The concept of striking a "balance" between unions and employers was the basis for the law's prohibition of "unfair labor practices" such as unwillingness to bargain in good faith, secondary boycotts, work stoppages because of jurisdictional disputes, and excessive union initiation fees. Employers as well as workers were permitted to appeal to the National Labor Relations Board for action against unions charged with such practices. Some abuses became subject to penalization by court action and one section of the act (14b) allowed the states to control union membership requirements...

...Some states, particularly in the South, went substantially beyond Taft-Hartley Act restrictions by enacting laws prohibiting not only closed shop contracts but also union-shop agreements, maintenance-of-membership clauses, and related forms of union security. Euphemistically such measures were justified as "right to work" laws, but union officials denounced them as "right to wreck" laws.
(p. 548)

Counterpoint

After failure of efforts to secure repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act (passed by a Republican-dominated Congress over a veto by President Truman), AFL and CIO unions concentrated their energies on wiping out Section 14b, which gave the states the right to outlaw union shop contracts.(2)
(p. 549)

Text (continued)

> Acceptance of the role of labor is not the same, of course, as acceptance of the ideas or programs of labor. Whether they agree or disagree, however, a legion of policy makers and administrators -- in government, in corporations, in politics, in public organizations, and in community life -- all recognize that the labor presence is a reality: that it must be acknowledged and considered, that its policy position must be considered even if rejected, that its representation must be accepted and accorded proper status, that in innumerable situations the consent of labor is essential to the creation of an effective consensus. There has been considerable progress towards Samuel Gompers' hopes for acceptance of labor as a respectable segment of the community... towards the situation in which the unions, in the words and wishes of George Meany, must function and be recognized as a "people's lobby"...
>
> ...It is clear that the ability of American labor -- essentially, the AFL-CIO -- to adapt successfully to the changes that are taking place in the economy and in the political system will measure its potential for survival, growth and service to the nation as a whole. On balance the record offers grounds for cautious optimism in the years ahead.(3) ———Henry C. Fleisher (p. 562)

Evaluation

(1) This book has dealt with the "victims of anti-union forces" to an overwhelming extent but not a word has been said about the victims of compulsory unionism, including unionism brought about by bombings, beatings, killings, and threats. There is ample evidence of these and a balanced view of "American Labor" would include all the kinds of violence. Workers have been victimized by both entities; it is unfair to present only one.

(2) This treatment of the Right to Work issue is startlingly biased. Even though this book is about trade unionism, there remains the responsibility to present union issues in as fair and balanced a context as possible. Right to Work laws are protections for the workers who wish to exercise their fundamental rights to freely associate (or not to). Use of the words "euphemistically" and "right to wreck" are blatantly unfair. Stating that "some states...went substantially beyond Taft-Hartley restrictions by enacting (such) laws..." shows a shocking lack of integrity. Section 14(b) was precisely designed for states to exercise their option to follow the will of their people on this issue. Compulsory unionism has many forms all of which come under the guise of "union security".

(3) The book's bias is never more obvious than here. In discussing the "labor presence", what is clearly meant is the union viewpoint, "organized labor" control. It is beyond comprehension that a thinker of Mr. Fleisher's stature -- whatever his predisposition -- can ignore the fact that only 20% of the workforce is unionized and therefore, "union" and "labor" are hardly synonomous. (See Item C, attached.)

 (continued)

*NOTE: In using this book as a reference work in high school classes, teachers must be alert to the obvious bias and present other materials in balance. The Right to Work issue is an increasingly critical issue in today's society and deserves thorough discussion.

TEXT EVALUATION

THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT; Mark Starr; Oxford Book Company, Inc.

Text

> Throughout the 1960's, one of labor's(1) prime political goals was to secure repeal of Section 14-b of the Taft-Hartley Act. This section gave the states the right to enact legislation which, in effect, nullified the union-shop provision of Taft-Hartley. The basic impact of such "right-to-work" laws (as they are unjustifiably known)(2) is that no worker may be required to join a union as a condition of being hired or of retaining his job. When such a "right-to-work" provision is enacted,(3) the union member loses his freedom(a) to refuse to work with a non-union member, who may refuse to go along with a majority vote to strike or take other collective action. With this in mind, union critics have called such legislation "right-to-scab" laws(b)...
>
> ...They constituted a serious hindrance to the effective operation of unions and of union growth(c). With such a law in effect, even if the large majority of workers in a given place of employment voted to be represented by a union, a minority might remain outside the union and still receive all the benefits of the union's activity and expenditures, without paying a cent in dues or assuming any other responsibility(d). (In some states, the courts have approved the so-called "agency shop" under which an employee may be required to pay for the services rendered by the union, even if he refuses to become a member(e).)
>
> ...However, labor has remained alert to the menace of hostile legislation and will combat vigorously any efforts to enact laws designed to limit its activities or prevent it from exercising its proper functions(f). (pp. 71-73)

Evaluation

(1) "Labor" is misused here and in the rest of the passage. The author means "Labor union officials". (Item C, attached)

(2) This parenthetical comment obviously instills bias.

(3) The entire passage is a series of attacks on the Right to Work, with no attempt at balance. Point by point, rebuttals to these attacks would be:

(a) No one "loses his freedom" under Right to Work laws. These laws protect everyone's right to join a union or not, as he sees fit.

(b) The use of the term "scab" is obviously derogatory and inflammatory in describing a worker exercising his right of free choice.

(c) There is no evidence that Right to Work laws constitute any "hindrance to the effective operation of unions and of union growth". There is, in fact, evidence to the contrary. (See Item B attached, "Unions Thriving in Right to Work States.)

(continued)

(d) It is not Right to Work laws that grant to the non-union worker "all the benefits of the union's activity and expenditures". It is the unions who demanded and got exclusive representation...the privilege of bargaining for all members of a company's bargaining unit (Wagner Act, 1935). The non-union worker is represented by the union whether he wants to be or not.

(e) The use of the term "so-called" lends an aura of illegitimacy to legitimate laws. (See Item A, attached.)

(f) It is opinion, not fact, that compulsory unionism is a "proper function" of "labor". (Also, see comment on the misuse of "labor" in number (1) above.)

NOTE: This text should more correctly be titled, The American Labor Union Movement, since it is designed to give a background just of the union movement, not of the history of labor in America.

This booklet is what might be expected to emerge from an AFL-CIO Union organization to be used in union adult classes; however, as resource material for social studies classes in secondary schools, it is overwhelmingly biased. It would seem only fair to include the point of view of those who do not share these ideas in discussions of specific issues, such as agency shops, Right to Work laws, union shops, and exclusive representation bargaining rights. As has been pointed out, even the selective use of statistics and information can demonstrate bias.

TEXT EVALUATION

AMERICAN LABOR UNIONS, WHAT THEY ARE AND HOW THEY WORK; Florence Peterson; Harper & Row, Publishers

Text

Organized labor voices no serious objections to these legal requirements for union-shop contracts, but it vociferously objects to the Taft-Hartley provision allowing state governments to ban all union-shop contracts within their borders, regardless of the wishes of the employer and a majority of his employees, and irrespective of whether the industry is engaged in interstate or local commerce. In these respects the Taft-Hartley provision is unique: It allows state laws to supersede federal legislation in the area of interstate commerce, and it negates a basic principle accepted in all phases of American life, both public and private -- namely, majority rule(1).

Thus far, nineteen states have enacted laws banning union-shop contracts, almost without exception these are states where the rural, non-industrial counties dominate the state legislatures. Typically these so-called(2) "right-to-work" laws read:

> No person may be denied employment and employers may not be denied the right to employ any person because of that person's membership or nonmembership in any labor organization.

Proponents of these laws hold that it is the duty of government to protect the inalienable right of an individual to work -- a right which is considered as fundamental as his right to quit work -- and that even though a majority of the employees designate a bargaining agent, they have no moral right, and should have no legal right, to act for the minority who wish to bargain as individuals. They maintain that to force workers to join and pay dues to a union in order to obtain and hold a job is repugnant to every instinct of liberty, and is a form of human bondage because it infringes upon the individual's right to work under whatever conditions he chooses(3).

Unions contend that this application of the concept of the inalienable right to work is in fact false: that an inalienable right is one which cannot be taken away, and that no proponent of the ban on union-shop contracts goes so far as to say that jobs should always be guaranteed to those who seek work, or that no one should be dismissed from a job he wishes to retain(4). Above all unions argue that allowing nonmembers to enjoy the wages and other benefits which union members have fought and paid for is comparable to allowing citizens who voted against a tax measure not to pay these taxes even though they benefit from the services defrayed by the tax levy. Unions argue that the legal protection of the individual's right not to belong to a union which a majority of the employees have voted for, is valid and just only if the laws included a proviso that only union members shall be paid union wages and enjoy the other benefits obtained through collective bargaining(5). (pp. 118-119)

Evaluation

(1) This sentence states opinion as fact. To be sure, majority rule is the foundation of our government, but to equate a private entity such as a labor organization (or any other exclusive organization) with the government is to confuse the issue. Balance also required presentation of the opposing opinion that the theory of majority rule must be based on the preservation of minority rights and minority opposition. Thus, the majority of the people in this country are Protestant. Proponents of the opposing opinion would point out that this textbook's interpretation of "majority rule" suggests that since the majority of the people in this country are Protestant, everyone should become a Protestant.

(2) "So-called" lends an aura of illegitimacy to legitimate laws. (See Item A, attached.) Also, there are now twenty Right to Work states.

(3) It is misleading to interpret the belief in the Right to Work as the belief that an individual has a right to work "under whatever conditions he chooses". The Right to Work is based only on the belief that every individual has the right to work for a living without being compelled to join or support a union.

(4) We commend the author for including at least this passage, along with the preceding one, to present arguments on both sides of the issue. But, since it is based on the misinterpretation discussed above, it becomes invalid.

(5) This argument is not accompanied by the opposing argument that forced payments are indeed equivalent to taxes, but that taxation is a sovereign power and should be exercised only by the government. Right to Work proponents argue that it would be absurd to suggest that all voluntary organizations should be empowered to compel those whom they suggest they benefit to contribute support. In addition, Right to Work proponents do not believe that Right to Work laws can be discredited because the union bargains for all members of the bargaining unit. It is the unions who demanded and got exclusive representation...the privilege of bargaining for all members of a company's bargaining unit (Wagner Act, 1935). A fair solution to the "free rider" claim is to remove the stipulation that the union must represent the entire group (exclusive representation), not tax those who do not wish such representation. (See Item E, attached.)

TEXT EVALUATION

AMERICAN STUDIES, A CONCEPTUAL APPROACH; Irving L. Gordon; AMSCO School Publications, Inc.

Text

CONTROVERSY REGARDING THE TAFT-HARTLEY ACT

Opposition by Labor(1)
Labor leaders condemned the Taft-Hartley Act as a "slave labor" law. In particular, they opposed the (a) abolition of the closed shop, since, under the union shop, the union had no power over hiring, (b) right granted to the states to bar even the union shop, (c) use of a temporary injunction, which revived fears of "government by injunction," and (d) anti-Communist oath, which union leaders considered an insult, since it was not required of any other segment of American society.

Approval by Management
Corporation leaders hailed the Taft-Hartley Act for (a) prohibiting unfair practices by unions, just as the Wagner Act had prohibited unfair practices by employers, (b) outlawing the closed shop and thus giving employers the right to hire anyone they wanted, (c) providing a cooling-off period to encourage peaceful collective bargaining, and (d) insisting that unions force their members to honor their labor contracts.

Observations
(a) Despite labor's fears, unions made further gains, growing in membership from 14 million in 1947 to 17 million in 1957 and winning higher wages and many fringe benefits. (b) Some 19 states, most of them in the South, enacted "right-to-work" laws, outlawing the union shop(2). These laws hampered unions in organizing workers...(3) (pp. 354-355)

Evaluation

(1) The misuse of the word "labor" (see comments in Item C, attached), and the way in which this passage is set up ("Opposition by Labor", and "Approval by Management") misleads the reader into seeing the Right to Work issue as a labor vs. management issue.

The Right to Work is supported by people from all corners of society, including both union and non-union members. (In a survey conducted by the Roper Organization in March 1977, 49% of the union members surveyed favored the working arrangement in which a "man can hold a job whether or not he belongs to a union", over the arrangement in which a "man can get a job if he doesn't already belong, but has to join after he is hired.")

(continued)

(2) It is inaccurately implied that the 19 states enacted Right to Work laws as a result of the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act. Actually, 11 states had Right to Work laws before the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act. There are now twenty Right to Work states.

(3) There is no evidence that "these laws hampered unions in organizing workers". In fact, the statement immediately before that one cites statistics indicating that labor unions have been anything but hampered. In fact, there is evidence to the contrary. (See Item B, "Unions Thriving in Right to Work States".)

TEXT EVALUATION

AMERICA'S POLITICAL SYSTEM; Peter Woll & Robert H. Binstock; Random House

Text

> The Worker's Right to Organize. Despite labor's(1) spectacular struggles against employers during the last half of the nineteenth century and the first few decades of the twentieth, very little was accomplished during those years toward guaranteeing the right of workers to organize labor unions...
>
> ...Often there is competition among several unions to represent the employees. If a third of the workers sign up for a union, that union requests...an election...If one union receives majority endorsement, it is designated as the bargaining agent of the employees in that plant, and the employer must therafter negotiate with it on matters that concern workers(2). (p. 517)

Evaluation

(1) The use of the term "labor" when what is really meant is "labor union" or "labor union official" should be carefully guarded against. (See Item C, attached.)

(2) In this discussion of the worker's right to organize, the omission of any discussion of Right to Work laws renders the treatment's objectivity suspect. The law which allows "exclusive representation" by a union (National Labor Relations Act of 1935) also provides for states to adopt Right to Work laws (provision 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act 1947) in which workers do not have to join or support any union in order to work. As an integral part of the labor movement, the Right to Work issue deserves treatment in any discussion. Provision 14(b) is a critical and increasingly political issue in labor relations and the nation's industrial history.

In a survey of public opinion conducted by the Roper Organization in 1977, the right of employees not wanting union representation to bargain for themselves was supported by 58% of all union members surveyed, thus indicating compulsory representation is opposed by the workers. (See Item E, attached.)

TEXT EVALUATION

DOLLARS AND SENSE: AN INTRODUCTION TO ECONOMICS, McCarty; Scott Foresman & Company, 1976

Text

> Perhaps the most controversial provision of the Taft-Hartley Act is Section 14B. This section allows states to pass "right-to-work" laws. Right-to-work laws make compulsory union membership illegal and weaken a union's hold on the work force(1).
> p. 166
>
> COLLECTIVE BARGAINING
> AND THE UNION CONTRACT
> As a worker in American industry, you may be invited (or required) to join a union. Periodically, your union leaders will negotiate a contract with management; this negotiation process is known as collective bargaining. The contract will cover wages, hours, fringe benefits, pension and insurance plans, and other conditions of employment. It will generally include a no-strike provision for the life of the contract (which usually runs one to three years).(2)
> p. 171

Evaluation

(1) & (2). These are the only references to the Right to Work issue in this discussion of the labor movement. Fairness and objectivity demand greater balance in the presentation of this critical issue.

It is the concept of "exclusive representation" in collective bargaining that gives rise to the "union shop" (wherein employees are required to join a union in order to work), a privilege given organized labor in Section 9(a) of the NLRA of 1935. This concept stipulates that a union selected by a majority of a company's workforce shall be the exclusive agent for all employees within that company's "bargaining unit" -- including those who do not want union representation. Polls have shown that the American people, even union members, oppose this law. (See Item E, attached.)

We object to this lack of balance in a textbook designed to acquaint high school students with basic economics and the world of work. If a worker is "invited (or required) to join a union", surely he/she should understand what creates that condition and what options may exist for him or her as an individual.

TEXT EVALUATION

ECONOMICS AND SOCIETY; John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1975

Text

THE CLOSED SHOP AND THE UNION SHOP

Many people who accept the idea of unions and strikes still find some union practices undesirable. A common target of criticism is the closed shop, in which the employer is forbidden to hire nonunion workers. The closed shop permits the union itself to determine who is eligible for covered jobs. Many unions have had policies that keep out minority groups or limit the number of workers in their trade. Under the closed shop, the unions govern access to jobs as well as to union membership.

The main argument for the closed shop is that it protects the union against free riders(1), employees who do not join the union but still participate in any benefits that the union wins in their shop. Since joining the union costs money, in the form of dues, the workers would have little incentive to join unless there were a closed shop.

The closed shop is prohibited under the Taft-Hartley Act, but the union shop is permitted. This arrangement leaves the hiring decision to the employer, but requires that after a certain period, anyone hired must join the union. The union is protected from free riders but does not determine who gets the jobs.

Some people object to the union shop also. They feel any rule that requires union membership is an invasion of personal rights. Some nineteen states mainly in the South and West, have right-to-work laws which prohibit both the closed and the union shop. These laws have limited effects, however, because only a small proportion of union members are in the states where they exist. None of the major industrial states has a right-to-work law.(2)

Evaluation

(1) It is important to clarify in this "free rider" argument that the unions themselves demanded the privilege of "exclusive representation" and were given sanction for it in the Labor Relations Act of 1935 (Wagner Act). Having demanded monopoly representation, the union then argues that workers owe them for "any benefits the union wins in the shop". The opposing argument to this is to allow unions to bargain only for their own members. That way, those who want the "benefits" would "have the incentive to join", and those who did not wish to join or support the union would not be required to.

(2) This is a distortion of the facts. Right to Work laws have not interfered with the growth of unions. (See Item B, attached.) Some highly industrialized states, Texas and North Carolina for example, are Right to Work states. There are now 20 states with Right to Work laws.

TEXT EVALUATION

ECONOMICS AND THE AMERICAN SYSTEM; Stanley Dimond & John Maher; J. B. Lippincott Company, 1975

Text

> Union Security. Because American employers opposed organization and because American workers were difficult to organize and difficult to retain in membership once organized, union security or the right of the union to exist and represent its members(1) has always been a major issue.
>
> ...In nineteen states the legislatures have become convinced that it is unethical to require an employee to join a union just because the majority of his fellows vote for it. These states have therefore passed so-called "right-to-work" laws(2) which outlaw all forms of union security(1) arrangements. Unions and union members(3), on the other hand, object to the non-union "free riders"(4) who receive all the benefits of the union and its efforts, even though they pay no dues.

Evaluation

(1) The term "union security" should not be used without qualification. Labor union officials use the term as a euphemism for compulsory unionism. In reality, they are arrangements made between the employer and the union guaranteeing that the workers will either join (union shop) or pay a fee (agency shop). If the employee refuses, he can be fired. This is not the same as "the right of the union to exist and represent its members."

(2) The use of the term "so-called" and quotation marks aroung Right to Work lend an aura of illegitimacy to legitimate laws. (See Item A, attached.) There are now 20 states with Right to Work laws.

(3) While it may be true that union officials object, it is not true that "union members...object to the non-union 'free rider'..." In a survey conducted by the Roper organization, released in March 1978, 49% of the union members surveyed favored the working arrangement in which a "man can hold a job whether or not he belongs to a union", over the arrangement in which "a man can get a job if he doesn't already belong, but has to join after he is hired.")

(4) The use of the term "free rider" implies the non-union member is somehow cheating his fellow workers. It is an obvious tone of bias. It should be pointed out that "exclusive representation", in which all workers in a unit must be represented by the union whether they wish to be or not, was demanded by the unions, and granted under the Wagner Act of 1935. Non-union members thus become "captive passengers" in the bargaining unit. To balance the presentation it should be pointed out that the fair solution would be for unions to bargain only for its members, allowing non-union members to bargain for themselves. (See Item E, attached.)

TEXT EVALUATION

ECONOMICS FOR DECISION-MAKING, Claderwood; Macmillan, 1974

Text

Freedom of Choice

One of the basic freedoms of the American economy is the freedom to choose one's life work...But within limits, Americans have the freedom to choose their jobs, to change jobs when they feel like it, to move to another part of the country if they wish, to join a union, and even to go on strike."

Evaluation

Unexamined assumptions are the most insidious forms of bias and the most difficult to overcome. Since the Right to Work issue is precisely a freedom of choice issue, it should have a more thorough discussion. The freedom "to join a union" does not always carry with it the freedom NOT to join or support a union. Negotiated "union security" arrangements such as the "union shop", "agency shop", and "maintenance of membership" all fall into this category.

Since this issue is not discussed in it objective entirety, students have no basis on which to judge the question of union monopoly bargaining privileges and agreements.

TEXT EVALUATION

ECONOMICS FOR YOUNG ADULTS, Linder; Sadlier-Oxford 1977

Text

Open Shop vs. the Union Shop

...Many employers favor the open shop. If few of their employees are union members, the union is likely to be weak...

...In a union shop, newly hired workers must become union members after they have been on the job for a certain specified period of time. Why do union workers strongly favor a union shop?...In fact, every worker today receives higher wages and all the other benefits because union members in the past struggled so hard to attain them.(1) Union workers feel it is only right and just for all new workers to join the union since they are enjoying the benefits for which the union fought...it is a way of paying a debt...(2) pg. 177

Labor unions...strongly oppose right-to-work laws. They argue that in most states having these laws, wages are low.(3) Union leaders maintain that Right to Work laws interfere with the union in organizing workers...(4) pg. 178

--The student workbook has an entire section on labor unions containing questions to ask a union member dealing with the benefits derived from membership. There is no comparable questionnaire to use with a non-union member. (5)

Evaluation

(1) This is not a "fact", but an assumption that is insidiously biased. Without examination, this paragraph allows students no valid basis on which to make any judgements regarding union security arrangements. There is no evidence to support this "fact".

(2) The Right to Work principle is, in fact, supported by union members as well as non-union members. In a survey conducted by the Roper organization in February, 1977, 49% of the union members surveyed favored the working arrangement in which "a man can hold a job whether or not he belongs to a union" over the arrangement in which "a man can get a job if he doesn't belong, but has to join after he is hired."

(3) There is no evidence thatRight to Work laws cause wages to be low as assumed here. In fact, there is evidence to indicate the opposite is true.(See item D)

(4) There is no evidence that Right to Work laws "interfere with the union in organizing workers" There is substantial evidence to the contrary. (see item B)

(5) It is the responsibility of a textbook to present issues in their objective entirety. This entire questionnaire is blatant evidence of bias against freedom of choice and of advocacy for "union security" and monopoly respresentation arrangements.

TEXT EVALUATION

ECONOMICS: INSTITUTIONS AND ANALYSIS; AMSCO School Publications, Inc., 1974

Text

2. Right-to-Work Laws. Under Section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act, the states were given the right to pass so-called(1) "right-to-work" laws. "Right-to-work" means that workers are permitted to hold a job without being required to join a union. In other words, the "right-to-work" laws outlaw the union shop. To date, about 20 states, located mostly in the South and the West, have passed these laws.

The basic argument in favor of right-to-work laws is that they protect the worker from being coerced into joining an organization. Such coercion, it is claimed, is a violation of the worker's civil liberties. Furthermore, if workers are free to resign from a union, then the union will be more responsive to the needs and wishes of its members.

Unions, on the other hand, are vigorously opposed to right-to-work laws because they feel that these laws are really designed to break unions(2). They point out that, unless there is a union shop, many workers may refuse to join a union. If these nonunion workers refuse to support the union or to cooperate in such union activities as strikes, then the union's bargaining position is greatly weakened, and the union cannot be effective.

Unions also resent the "free rider," who is permitted to work in an open shop and enjoy the benefits won by the union without paying for them(3).

Evaluation

(1) "So-called" lends an aura of illegitimacy to legitimate laws. (See Item A, attached.)

(2) These arguments are misleading since Right to Work laws are not designed to "break unions" but merely to protect individual workers' freedom of choice. The facts show that Right to Work states have exhibited greater growth in union membership than non-Right to Work states. (See Item B, attached.)

(3) The "free rider" argument put forth by unions is an outgrowth of their demand for "exclusive representation", sanctioned by the Wagner Act of 1935. Having demanded monopoly representation, the union then argues that workers owe them for "the benefits won by the union". The opposing argument is to allow unions to bargain only for their members; those who want the "benefits" would then have the incentive to join or support the union that bargained for them.

TEXT EVALUATION

EXPLORING OUR NATION'S HISTORY, VOLUME II, THE AGE OF GREATNESS; Sidney Schwartz & John R. O'Connor; Globe Book Company

Text

> (Under the Taft-Hartley Act) States could pass "right-to-work" laws. These laws allowed companies with union contracts to hire non-union workers. The new workers were to be represented by the union, but they did not have to join it or pay union dues(1)...
>
> ...But unions condemned it (the Taft-Hartley Act) as a "slave-labor law". They charged that it took away important rights of unions and workers. They especially objected to the "right-to-work" laws, which allowed workers who did not pay dues to reap the benefits that unions had won(2). (p. 249)

Evaluation

(1) This sentence implies that Right to Work laws say that the union must represent non-union workers. Exclusive representation...the privilege of bargaining for all members of a company's bargaining unit...was demanded by the unions, and received under the National Labor Relations Act (Wagner Act) in 1935.

(2) This statement presents opinion as fact, by defining Right to Work laws as laws that "allowed workers who did not pay dues to reap the benefits that unions had won". That statement is not fact, since in actuality, the terms of such a contract are thrust upon the worker whether he desires them or not. It is the Wagner Act that allows this situation; the Right to Work law merely protects individual workers' rights to belong or not to belong to the union. Many workers would not consider it a "benefit" to be required to pay dues or lose one's job, or to be represented by a union they did not want. (See Item E, attached.)

TEXT EVALUATION

FOUNDATIONS IN SOCIAL STUDIES: FREE ENTERPRISE IN AMERICA, Hacker; Harcourt 1977

Text

"Unions Protecting Workers Interests" chapter is 8 pages long on benefits of the union. There is a ½-page insert on Right to Work laws which describes the "closed shop", "union shop", and "maintenance of membership" arrangements.

Thinking it Through questions, end of chapter, include:

1. What reasons might individual worker have for joining a union? for not wanting to belong?
2. Why might an employer not want his or her workers to belong to a union?
3. In what ways do you think unions benefit our economic system? In what ways might they hurt it?

A UAW member discussing why the union is important to him and how the benefits have outwayed the disadvantages, states: "...most UAW union members would rather belong to their union...and he added: I also kept my dignity as a human being."

Evaluation

If the insert on Right to Work Laws were accompanied by a discussion of the Right to Work issue, this chapter would not be considered biased. Since there is no identification, however, of the compulsion issue as a freedom of choice issue, students have no basis on which to judge the question of union membership requirements or union security agreements.

Unexamined assumptions are the most insidious incidences of bias and the most difficult to overcome. As an integral part of the labor movement, the Right to Work issue deserves some treatment in this discussion. The provision 14(b) of the Taft Hartley Law is a critical and increasingly important question in labor relations and the nation's industrial history. It is the responsibility of educators and textbook publishers to present every issue in its objective entirety and to avoid becoming advocates consciously or unconsciously, for political or ideological positions.

TEXT EVALUATION

GENERAL BUSINESS FOR ECONOMIC UNDERSTANDING; South-Western, 1971

Text

The term labor includes all human effort, both mental and physical, exerted to produce goods and services. It includes all men and women who grow or take products from nature, convert raw materials into useful products, and sell these products.

It includes people who provide services to others, services ranging from baby-sitting to brain surgery. Labor also includes those who supervise others and who manage business operations.

KINDS OF WORKERS IN THE LABOR FORCE
The total labor force is made up of all people 16 years of age or older who are working or looking for work. In the United States there are about 95 million people in this large group. You are likely to spend many years of your life as part of the labor force.(1)
pp. 545-546

WORKERS UNITING TO ADVANCE THEIR INTERESTS
You have probably heard the motto, "United we stand, divided we fall." As workers, many people unite for causes that are important to them. Almost every worker belongs to some special organization that is concerned with the welfare of its members...(2)

...Having a strong group speak for its members is a common means of expression in a democracy. Many people in the labor force(3) -- about 20 million of them -- express themselves through labor unions. About 16 million of these workers belong to unions that are affiliated with one very large labor organization.
pp. 546-547

THE INFLUENCE OF LABOR UNIONS
For a time, unions seemed to be so strong that laws were passed to regulate their power. For example, one provision of the Taft-Hartley Act of 1947 forbids a closed shop agreement. This means that it forbids a business in which only members of a union may be hired by the employer. The law does permit a union shop agreement. This means that an employer may hire employees who are not union members, but the employees must join the union within a specified time.(4)
pp. 548-549

(continued)

UNIONS GET RESULTS

Suppose that an employee in a large company is not satisfied with his wages or working conditions. If he presents his complaints in person to the employer, he may not get much consideration. If he says he will quit, the employer may not care. He can usually hire someone who will be satisfied with the present arrangements. A worker usually cannot get very far with individual bargaining.

On the other hand, if many workers present a united front, employers will generally hear their complaints. Negotiations between an organized body of workers and an employer, dealing with wages and working conditions, are called collective bargaining.(5)

Evaluation

(1) This very necessary distinction between "labor" and "labor unions" is well made here. (See Item C, attached.)

(2) The implication made is that workers, as any other group of individuals, choose to "unite for causes that are important to them." In 30 states, compulsory unionism in the form of the union shop does not allow workers this freedom of choice, but allows unions to require it in order to work. Only 20 Right to Work states protect individual workers from being fired for not joining a union.

(3) These numbers are very impressive, but misleading. It should be pointed out that "20 million union members" represents only 20% of the total labor force; this would better be described as "some" rather than "many".

(4) See Item (2) above. Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, allowing states to pass Right to Work laws, should be discussed here also.

(5) Section 9(a) of the National Labor Relations Act stipulates that a union selected by a majority of a company's workforce shall be the exclusive agent for all employees within that company's "bargaining unit" -- <u>including independent-minded workers who don't want union representation</u>. This concept is called "exclusive representation", and gives rise to compulsory unionism agreements such as union shops and agency shops.

Since this question is increasingly a critical issue in labor relations today, the Right to Work issue should be discussed fully in this chapter. (See Item E, attached.)

TEXT EVALUATION

**GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE, NATIONAL EDITION; James McGregor Burns & J.W. Peltason; Prentice-Hall, Inc.

Text

> ...Since 1947, organized labor has kept up its drive to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act, especially Section 14b, which permits states to outlaw union shops. Union leaders contend that these laws undermine their organizing efforts(1), especially in the South, where most of the states have taken advantage of Section 14b to pass(2) so-called(3) right-to-work laws. (p. 494)

Evaluation

(1) There is no evidence to support this contention and is, in fact, evidence to refute it. (See Item B, "Unions Thriving in Right to Work States".)

(2) This sentence suggests that all state Right to Work laws were passed after the Taft-Hartley Act. Eleven states had Right to Work laws before the Taft-Hartley was passed. Nine states have passed such laws since.

(3) "So-called" lends an aura of illegitimacy to legitimate laws. (See Item A, attached.)

** We wish to note that this textbook's new edition by Burns, Peltason, and Cronin (10th edition) has been completely revised and does not even discuss the Right to Work issue or section 14(b) of the Taft Hartley Law. It "describes, dissects, and assesses" government systems and processes, citing numerous court decisions and cases. It is important to note, too, that in discussing civil liberties, Chapters 5-7, none of the cases cited deal with the Right to Work issue.

TEXT EVALUATION

GOVERNMENT IN OUR REPUBLIC; Stuart Gerry Brown & Charles L. Peltier; The Macmillan Company

Text

In recent years some states have passed and other have rejected laws aimed directly at the power of unions(1). These laws, known as "right to work" laws (that is, right to work without belonging to a union), would make the union shop impossible unless the union's members were unanimous in their support of it. The federal law, on the other hand, authorizes the union shop if a majority favors it. Such laws are constantly being tested in the courts to determine whether they conform with the Constitution(2). There is no uniform attitude toward labor among the states, and the states by no means all conform to the standards set by the federal government(3).

Evaluation

(1) It is opinion, not fact, that Right to Work laws are aimed "directly at the power of the unions". Proponents insist that Right to Work laws have no effect on any legitimate function of unions. They are not aimed at "the power of the unions", proponents would argue, but are aimed at the protection of individual freedom. There is, in fact, ample evidence that Right to Work laws do not restrict the growth of unions (see Item B, attached).

(2) The argument of "majority rule" in this issue is irrelevant. To be sure, majority rule is the foundation of our government, but to equate a private entity with the government is to confuse the issue. A labor union is a private organization and, as such, should not have the right to "tax" or "coerce" those who do not desire membership or services. The Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of Right to Work laws in 1949 (Lincoln Union vs. Northwestern Company).

(3) This sentence suggests that Right to Work laws are somehow in violation of "standards set by the federal government". They are not. They are sanctioned by federal statute (Section 14(b) of the 1947 Taft-Hartley Act).

TEXT EVALUATION

HISTORY: USA; Jack Allen & John Betts; American Book Company

Text

> ...Congressional enactment of the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947, and the Landrum-Griffin Act in 1959, opened the way for increased government intervention in union affairs. The purpose of the new laws, presumably, was to promote union democracy and protect individual members from the wrongdoings of union officials(1). Their effect was to alter the traditional legal view of trade unions as private organizations of workers with the internal affairs of the union rarely a matter of government concern. The actions of the federal government were accompanied by the enactment of so-called(2) "right-to-work" laws in a number of states, some eighteen states by 1960(3). The laws took different forms, but, in general, they tended to favor non-union members and to penalize unions(4). (p. 666)

Evaluation

(1) The entire passage to this point reflects an obvious bias against the Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin Acts. (Right to Work laws are sanctioned under the 14(b) provision of the Taft-Hartley Act.) The purpose of the new laws was in fact to protect workers, not "presumably".

(2) "So-called" lends an aura of illegitimacy to legitimate laws. (See Item A, attached.)

(3) Eleven states had Right to Work laws on the books before the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act. Nine have passed them subsequently.

(4) This statement is misleading. Right to Work laws penalize no one. They protect the union member and the non-union member alike. Furthermore, there is ample evidence that legitimate activities of unions have not been hampered. (See Item B, attached.)

TEXT EVALUATION

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE AMERICAN ECONOMY; Sanford D. Gordon & Jess Witchell; D. C. Heath Company

Text

> One of the most dramatic controversies over the Taft-Hartley Act has been over Section 14(b), which permits states to pass laws prohibiting the union shop. These "right-to-work" laws have been passed in nineteen states, primarily in the Deep South, the Southwest, and the Farm Belt, where union organization is least extensive. Labor(1) claims that these laws seriously hamper its attempts to recruit members.(2) Those in favor of these laws and of the right of states to pass such laws insist that union membership should never be made a condition of employment.(3)
> (pp. 93-94)
>
> An Example of Collective Bargaining: Focus on Agreement(4)
> To explain how the process of collective bargaining works...etc.
> (p. 94)

Evaluation

(1) "Labor" is misused here. The author means "labor union officials". (See Item C, attached.)

(2) This implication is inferred as a fact in the absence of refutation. There is no evidence that this is true and in fact there is evidence to the contrary. (See Item B, attached.)

(3) This is the only reference to the issue of Right to Work as a freedom of choice issue and does not balance the following argument for union membership as a power protecting the worker's rights.

(4) This entire argument ostensibly "focusing on agreement" is a total assumption that the union arguments are valid. The opposition to the "exclusive bargaining agent" seems to come only from management with no discussion of individual employee opposition. Exclusive representation is, in fact, not favored by a majority of union members in recent polls. (See Item E, attached.)

The issue is distorted when it is treated only as an economic one. The "labor organizers'" argument that "wages of workers in organized industries are higher than in non-organized ones" is presented as a fact in this text and there are no facts given to substantiate the point. Recent figures from the U.S. Department of Labor, on the other hand, provide grounds for refuting this assumption. (See Item D, attached.)

(continued)

Taken with the recently published "First Chicago World Report," an economic study by Alan Reynolds, these figures contradict the "cheap labor" argument. Reynolds, Vice President of the First National Bank of Chicago, has declared that "...real, after-tax incomes are now significantly lower in New York and Massachusetts than in, say, Arkansas and Alabama (Right to Work states)..." In an economics text, these understandings are essential since the issue is too complex for simple decisions. Cost-of-living is an essential factor in wage considerations, and "after-tax" incomes are a worker's "real" living wage.

TEXT EVALUATION

LABOR IN AMERICA, A HISTORY; Foster Rhea Dulles; Thomas Y. Crowell Company

Text

> ...(The Taft-Hartley Act) expressly banned the closed shop, required highly complicated voting procedures for establishment of the union shop, and perhaps most significantly, left the door open to even more severe anti-union legislation by the states(1). In Section 14(b) it permitted the states to bypass federal legislation allowing the union shop by themselves barring it. This provision made possible the so-called(2) state "right-to-work" laws which were to hamper further union organization more directly than anything in the Taft-Hartley Act itself(3). (pp. 357-358)
>
> In 1955, 17 states had such laws barring not only the closed shop but the union shop. They were largely in the South or Far West, but conservative business interests(4) mounted an intensive campaign to win over some of the more heavily industrialized states. While labor(5) continued to feel that the only resolution of this issue was repeal of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, it conducted a hard-hitting war against any further state legislation. In only two instances did it fail to defeat proposed new right-to-work laws, and in 1958 decisively threw back anti-union(6) forces in the five important states of California, Ohio, Colorado, Idaho, and Washington(7). (p. 381)

Evaluation

(1) Calling Right to Work laws "severe anti-union legislation" instills bias. Right to Work laws are neither anti-union nor pro-union, as they protect both the union and non-union worker.

(2) "So-called" lends an aura of illegitimacy to legitimate laws. (See attached editorial, Item A.)

(3) There is no evidence that Right to Work laws "hamper further union organization." There is, in fact, evidence to the contrary. (See Item B, attached.)

(4) This implies that "conservative business interests" are the driving force behind the Right to Work movement. The Right to Work is supported by people from all corners of society including union and non-union workers alike. (In a survey conducted by the Roper Organization in March, 1977, 49% of the union members surveyed favored the working arrangement in which a "man can hold a job whether or not he belongs to a union", over the arrangement in which "a man can get a job if he doesn't already belong, but has to join after he is hired.")

(continued)

(5) "Labor" is misused here. What is meant is "labor unions". (See Item C, attached.)

(6) See Number (1) above.

(7) This is obviously a biased presentation with use of "threw back anti-union forces". All states in the union have equal "importance", and the term used is a value judgment. There are now twenty Right to Work states, three more since 1955.

TEXT EVALUATION

LABOR IN LEARNING: PUBLIC SCHOOL TREATMENT OF THE WORLD OF WORK; Will Scroggins; Institute of Industrial Relations, University of California

Text

...I was most interested in whether or not the textbooks would point out that this section of the law (Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act), with most unusual latitude, allows state governments to preempt federal legislation in labor-management relations by enacting so-called(1) "right-to-work" laws, making illegal the otherwise lawful union shop. Nineteen states now have such legislation outlawing the union shop and other union security(2) contract clauses.

Brown and Peltier, in Government in Our Republic (p. 559), in a short treatment do perhaps the best job:

> In recent years some states have passed and others rejected laws aimed directly at the power of unions. These laws, known as 'right to work' laws (that is, the right to work without belonging to a union), would make the union shop impossible unless the union's members were unanimous in their support of it. The federal law, on the other hand, authorizes the union shop if a majority favors it. Such laws are constantly being tested in the courts to determine whether they conform with the Constitution. There is no uniform attitude toward labor among the states, and the states by no means all conform to the standards set by the federal government(3).

Comments: Should not textbooks attempt to explain what such laws mean to the partisans of labor and management(4), and why labor unions are so universally opposed to these so-called(5) right-to-work laws(6)? (p. 26)

Evaluation

(1) "So-called" lends an aura of illegitimacy to legitimate laws. (See Item A, attached.)

(2) There are now twenty Right to Work states. "Union security" should not be used without qualification. Union officials use this phrase as a euphemism for compulsory unionism. In reality, these are special arrangements made between a union and an employer to guarantee union fees or dues. Such arrangements are

the "union shop", in which all employees must join the union representing the majority of employees, and the "agency shop", in which a worker does not have to join the union, but must pay a "service fee" to the union in order to keep his job. Either way, he can be fired.

(3) This textbook is biased and, hopefully, does not do the "best job."

(4) This suggests that the Right to Work issue is a labor versus management dispute. The Right to Work is supported by people from all corners of society, labor and management alike. A Roper survey distributed in March 1977 indicated 73% of those surveyed favored the arrangement whereby "a man can hold a job whether or not he belongs to a union" over the arrangement whereby "a man can get a job if he doesn't already belong, but has to join after he is hired."

(5) See (1) above.

(6) First, textbooks should attempt to explain why there are proponents of Right to Work laws as well as why there are opponents. Also, if one uses the term "labor unions" to mean the members of labor unions, (as opposed to labor union officials) it is inaccurate to say that they are "universally opposed" to Right to Work laws. (See Item C, attached.) (In the 1977 survey conducted by the Roper Organization (see (4) above) 49% of the union members surveyed favored the working arrangement discussed above.

TEXT EVALUATION

THE LABOR MOVEMENT, AN AMERICAN READER BOOK; Charles L. Cutler & George P. Morrill; Xerox Corporation

Text

One part of the Taft-Hartley Act that angered labor leaders was the rule that allowed states to pass their own "right-to-work" laws. Under these laws a person could not be forced to join a union in order to hold a job.

Some unions had contracts requiring that every worker in a plant be a union member. Under the new law independent workers could be hired. Union leaders were afraid that factory owners would use independent workers to push down wages or add to daily work hours.

In factory states -- such as California and Illinois -- working people(1) were strong enough to block right-to-work laws from passing. But in poorer states -- mostly the South -- the laws were put on the books.(2) As a result, the unions said, workers there could not make a good living.

The AFL-CIO pointed out that in Mississippi factory workers earned an average of only $50 a week in 1955. The average personal income of every man, woman, and child -- in that right-to-work state was only $946 a year, the lowest in the nation.

In right-to-work South Carolina, the average weekly earnings of factory workers were $53 in 1955. They were $54 in Georgia, another right-to-work state. Per capita income in South Carolina was $1,108 for the year. And in Georgia it was $1,133.(3)

In the 1950's right-to-work laws were beaten back in 31 states. Unions never stopped talking and working against them.(4)

Backers of each right-to-work act, on the other hand, were just as sure that they were helping the working person. They said they were giving the worker a chance to better himself without paying union dues or putting himself under leadership of faraway officers(5). (p. 43)

Evaluation

(1) It was the labor union which prevented Right to Work laws from passing, not the "working people". (see item C on the use of terms such as "labor".)

(2) This is a distortion of the facts. Right to Work laws have been passed in some highly industrialized states, not "in poorer states" only. Texas and North Carolina for example, are Right to Work states. (see note below.)

(3) This presentation is extremely one-sided. A lengthy attack is made on the Right to Work with carefully-chosen statistics. The implication is that non-union membership created the low wages. In fact, there is evidence to refute this. (See Item D, attached.)

(continued)

(4) In fact, since the Taft-Hartley law enactment, nine states have adopted Right to Work laws and there are now twenty Right to Work states. This is a biased presentation.

(5) This is the only rebuttal: a brief, broad statement about the "backers" of Right to Work laws. A more balanced presentation would include the facts indicating a greater per capita personal income gain over the ten-year period 1965-1975 in the Right to Work states than the non-Right to Work states. (See Item D attached.)

NOTE: These figures are even more convincing with the realization that regional disparities in per capita income, when adjusted for regional differences in living costs and taxes, often disappear. In a report from First Chicago World Report, entitled "Is Alabama Richer Than New York?", May 1977, these regional differences were calculated to discover that "the residents of supposedly affluent northern states are often left with lower real after-tax incomes than their southern neighbors.

"...Although unadjusted per capita income was over a thousand dollars higher in New York than in Texas, for example, the higher cost-of-living in New York absorbed the entire difference."

The article's figures show that "six of the ten most affluent states are located in the South, while six of the ten poorest states are in the North."

TEXT EVALUATION

THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES; Jack Barbash; Public Affairs Committee, Inc.

Text

> The other question which is frequently raised with respect to the impact of unions on the society is the monopoly power of unions...
>
> The specific proposals made to deal with "union monopoly" -- right-to-work laws, and outlawing of "industry-wide bargaining" -- would prohibit sound practices...
>
> Both union security(1) and multi-employer bargaining are frequently associated with mature bargaining relationships. The employer, the workers, and the consumers all benefit from the stability that has resulted from the relationship...(2)
>
> The union shop prevails only when: (a) the employer agrees to it in collective bargaining; (b) when the majority of employees want it(3).
>
> Under those circumstances the requirement that every employee join the union as a condition of holding his job and thereby contribute to the upkeep of the union that represents him is not unreasonable(4).
>
> (pp. 24-26)

Evaluation

(1) "Union security" is a euphemism for compulsory unionism. It consists of agreements between the employer and the union for some form of employee contribution to the union. Such agreements may be the "agency shop" whereby the employee must pay a fee for bargaining, or the "union shop" whereby the employee must join the union. Either way, the employee must pay up or be fired.

(2) That Right to Work laws "prohibit sound practices", that "union security" is associated with "mature bargaining relationships", and that "the employer, the workers, and the consumers all benefit" are statements of opinion, yet they are presented as fact. There is no attempt whatever at substantiation.

(3) The union shop prevails when the union bargaining agent agrees to it, not necessarily "when the majority of employees want it." There is much evidence to show that it is not the workers who demand the union shop, but the union which negotiates for it. (In a survey conducted by the Opinion Research Corporation in March 1977, 49% of the union members surveyed favored the working arrangement in which "a man can hold a job whether or not he belongs to a union" over the arrangement in which "a man can get a job if he doesn't already belong, but has to join after he is hired.")

 (continued)

(4) As above, this is not a statement of fact, but one side of an argument. The other side is that under no circumstances is "the requirement that every employee join the union" reasonable. It is never an employer's right to compel anyone to join a union, just as it is never the employer's right to prohibit union membership. In many instances, in fact, the employer has not agreed to a union shop voluntarily, but has been coerced by strikes, threats of strikes, and even violence against his person or property.

It should also be pointed out that "exclusive representation", in which the union is given the right to bargain for all employees whether they want it or not, is a monopoly arrangement demanded by the union. Under these circumstances, the union has demanded a privilege and then coerced worker support. The theory of majority rule must be based on the preservation of minority rights including the right to oppose the majority. (See Item E, attached.)

TEXT EVALUATION

THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES; John J. Flagler; Lerner Publications

Text

> Another provision of the Taft-Hartley Act which labor(1) firmly opposed was section 14(b) which provided that the states were free to go beyond the federal ban on the closed shop and to legislate stricter prohibitions against union security arrangements(2). In the next few years, twenty states, most of them in the agricultural regions of the Midwest and in the newly industrialized Southeast, passed so-called(3) "right to work" laws(4). (pp. 95-96)

Evaluation

(1) "Labor" is misused here. It was labor union officials who opposed Section 14(b). (See Item C, attached.)

(2) "Union security arrangements" should not be used without qualification. Proponents of Right to Work consider that phrase an euphemism for compulsory unionism, since they are agreements between the employer and the union guaranteeing that employees will either join (union shop) or pay a service fee (agency shop); if they refuse, they can be fired.

(3) "So-called" lends an aura of illegitimacy to legitimate laws. (See Item A, attached.)

(4) This sentence is inaccurate. Eleven of those states had Right to Work laws before passage of the Taft-Hartley Act.

TEXT EVALUATION

LABOR UNIONS, PROGRESS AND PROMISE; Harold Kessler, Marvin A. Robinson, and Mark Stone; School District of Philadelphia

NOTE: This is a curriculum guide prepared by the Office of Curriculum and Instruction of the Philadelphia School District. The text quoted here is a dramatization offered as part of a lesson plan.

Text

THE FREE RIDER(1)

Bert: Hey, Fran, since you're the shop steward, you ought to be aware of this problem and try to get us the answer.

Fran: Sure, Bert, since you're a member of the shop committee it's part of your responsibility to bring up any problems that come to your attention. What's up now?

Bert: The free rider problem -- those few kooks, lame-brains, or spongers who won't join the union.

Fran: I know about them -- about 5% of the working force -- so what's the problem -- are they causing trouble?

Bert: Well, it's this way. Some of the union members, whom I thought were solid, are squawking because the free riders pay no dues but get all the benefits of the contract that our dues helped to get. They don't think it is fair...

Fran: Bert, tell them, first, that it is standard union practice, everywhere, based on experience, that the contract covers every worker in the bargaining unit, equally. That means the union represents all workers in the departments or jobs that were involved in the collective bargaining election we won several years ago(2). Second, we are not working for a private employer, our boss is a government agency, and the law is clear on this point: no worker can be required or forbidden to join any organization as a condition of employment (except for practices in effect before the place of employment became a government agency). Third, if the non-union people were not protected equally by the contract, that group would become favorites of the employer in many ways, and that would harm the rest. Fourth, there are a number of ways that the union members can use in trying to solve this problem -- different methods may work on different people. But one thing is sure -- if any member says he won't pay dues because the free riders don't, he is playing the game of the union's

(continued)

enemies. If such an idea were put into practice on a wide scale, there would be no union, no contract, no benefits, no protection -- who would gain from that?

Bert: I get it -- those who are so vocal about the free riders should direct their energy in that direction, not at us, the leadership. We have tried, and we will try, to recruit everyone we represent, but we won't do it all ourselves, and we have more important duties than that. The point is, don't let the free rider thing be used to weaken the union.

Fran: Our state law forbids the union shop or agency shop in public employment such as ours.

Bert: Can't the law be changed?

Fran: Sure, either way, and that means danger. Those who are in the best position to know way that the present law on labor's rights is not perfect, but, considering the present state legislature, any effort to change the law will make it worse. If we had a more pro-labor(3) legislature, the law might be improved, but that seems out of the question just now

(b) Questions for Discussion:

1. Why is a free rider so called?

2. Imagine that you were a free rider: What defense would you give for such an attitude?

3. Now take the other side; try to recruit a free rider into the union.

4. In what ways would the union members suffer if non-members were not covered by the contract or represented by the union?(5)

Evaluation

(1) This dramatization does not mention the Right to Work issue by name, but discusses the issue as "the free rider problem". Its entire tone is biased and obviously inflammatory. There is no attempt to balance the presentation, and in fact, there is an active attempt, with phrases like "those few kooks, lame-brains, or spongers who won't join the union", to discredit anyone who refrains from union membership.

(2) It should be made clear that "exclusive representation", in which all workers in a unit must be represented by the union holding the majority membership, was demanded by the unions themselves. In all fairness it should be pointed out that non-union members thus became "captive passengers" in the bargaining unit rather than "free riders". The equitable solution would be for the union to bargain only for its members allowing non-union members to bargain for themselves.

(3) The use of "labor" to mean labor union or labor union officials is a common bias. (See Item C, attached.)

(4) These questions for discussion are blatant attempts to reinforce the text's biased presentation, by implication and innuendo. (i.e., "What defense would you give?", "In what ways would union members suffer?")

(5) There is no evidence that the open shop concept, which is the Right to Work law implemented, has negative effects on union members individually or even on union organization efforts. In fact, there is evidence to the contrary. (See Item B, attached.)

TEXT EVALUATION

MAGRUDER'S AMERICAN GOVERNMENT; Revised by William A. McClenaghan; Allyn & Bacon, Inc.

Text

A union shop is one in which employees must join the union within a short time after being hired. Several of the States now have so-called(1) "right-to-work" laws, which ban both the closed and union shops; they provide only for the open shop -- a worker may join a union or not, as he or she sees fit. (p. 374)

Evaluation

(1) "So-called" lends an aura of illegitimacy to legitimate laws. (See Item A, attached.)

NOTE: The use of "so-called" is a very subtle bias in this text's presentation. Right to Work laws are not discussed by name in the text, but only mentioned in the footnote.

As an integral part of the labor movement, the Right to Work issue deserves more extensive treatment than this, particularly along with the discussion of the Taft-Hartley provision, which is fair and accurate. We object to this omission of a serious issue.

TEXT EVALUATION

ONE NATION, AN AMERICAN GOVERNMENT TEXT WITH READINGS; Robert L. Keighton; D.C. Heath and Company

Text

> The latter provision (Section 14(b)) led to the passage in nineteen states of so-called(1) "right to work" laws(2). (p. 377)

Evaluation

(1) "So-called lends an aura of illegitimacy to legitimate laws. (See Item A, attached.)

(2) Eleven of those 19 states had Right to Work laws before the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act. There are now 20 Right to Work states.

NOTE: The passage above is followed by a brief, accurate discussion of the Right to Work issue.

TEXT EVALUATION

OUR AMERICAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICAL SYSTEM; Wit & Dionisopoulos; Laidlaw Brothers, 1977

Text

(See note at end of evaluation.)

Types of Pressure Groups

The first of these categories -- and perhaps the largest -- is economic. The many pressure groups that fall into this category may have widely different goals as far as public policies are concerned, but they all share one common characteristic. Each group has, as its primary goal, economic benefits for its members(1).

Among economic pressure groups are those representing business interests. Such business pressure groups as the National Association of Manufacturers (NAM) -- which represents 13,000 companies -- and the Chamber of Commerce -- which represents 40,000 businesses -- function to promote the economic interests of great numbers of businessmen. Both of these organizations may support certain programs and oppose others, but both usually support programs that are economically beneficial for the businessmen of America.

There are economic pressure groups, too, that work for the interests of the workingmen. For example, the joint American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) -- with an estimated membership of 17,000,000 -- supports governmental programs favored by union members.(2)

Caption beside photograph: The influence of labor unions is important in election campaigns. The photograph on the right shows Democratic presidential candidate Jimmy Carter with United Auto Workers president Leonard Woodcock. Carter was addressing a convention of the Michigan AFL-CIO during the 1976 election campaign.(3)

(pp. 190-191)

Evaluation

(1) The power of pressure groups goes beyond supporting "governmental programs favored by (its) members." We believe it is important to emphasize the point that organizations (such as labor unions) may actually be working for the interests of the group organization as much as for the individual members.

(2) Specifically, it is the labor union officials, such as those of the AFL-CIO, who bargain and lobby for "exclusive representation" and compulsory

 (continued)

unionism (the "closed shop", "agency shop") when polls clearly show their members to be in opposition. In March 1977, 49% of union members polled favored the working arrangement in which "a man can hold a job whether of not he belongs to a union", over the arrangement in which "a man can get a job if he doesn't already belong, but has to join after he is hired." (See Item E, attached.)

(3) By the same token, "the influence of labor unions is important in election campaigns" and often in opposition to those who must foot the bill through compulsory unionism. The Roper organization poll released in March 1977 showed that 67% of union members polled believed the "law should not permit use of compulsory dues to support political candidates favored by the union."

NOTE: Since this text does not discuss the Taft-Hartley Act or the National Labor Relations Act, it seems to us that students will have very little real understanding of the role the labor union movement has played in America's industrial history. It is an increasingly critical and political role and should not be ignored in a text covering "Our American Government and Political System".

TEXT EVALUATION

OUR AMERICAN HERITAGE, Bass et al; Silver Burdett 1979

Text

...the law allowed states to pass right-to-work laws that would make union shops illegal. A union shop is a business in which newly hired employees must become union members and keep their membership as a condition of employment. Eighteen states promptly passed right-to-work laws...(1) pg. 725-6

...in the long run the Taft Hartley Act has not seriously hurt strong unions, although it has made it harder in "right-to-work" states to organize unions. (2)

Evaluation

(1) The implication here is that the passage of Right to Work laws was caused by the Taft Hartley Act. In fact, eleven states had such laws on their books before the passage of the Act. Nine have passed them subsequently, bringing the total number of Right to Work states to twenty.

(2) There is no evidence to substantiate this assumption. In fact, there is evidence that the Right to Work states have created a climate wherein unions grow faster and make greater gains in membership than in non right to work states. (See item B)

TEXT EVALUATION

OUR DEMOCRACY AT WORK; Harris G. Warren, Harry D. Leinenweber, & Ruth O.M. Andersen; Prentice-Hall, Inc.

Text

> ...In recent years a strong anti-labor movement(1) has caused about one-third of the states to adopt so-called(2) "right-to-work" laws. According to these laws, a worker does not have to belong to a union in order to work on a job...(pp. 246-247)

Evaluation

(1) Right to Work laws are neither pro-union or anti-union. They protect the right of every worker to join a union, or not to join a union, as he sees fit.

(2) "So-called" lends an aura of illegitimacy to legitimate laws. (See Item A, attached.)

TEXT EVALUATION

A PEOPLE AND A NATION, Ver Steeg & Hofstadler; Harper and Row 1977

Text

Test A, Chapter 22, IDENTIFICATION:

_____ a nonunnion strikebreaker
_____contract used by employers to ensure that employees did not join a union.

Test B, Chapter 22, MATCHING:

_____workers classified as undesirables
_____workers shut out of plant by owner
_____workers connunities owned by company
_____nonunion workers
_____workers forced to agree not to join a union

a) yellow dog contract
b) company town
c) black list
d) lockout
e) scabs

Evaluation

If these examples were accompanied by a discussion of the Right to Work issue they would be considered somewhat less subjective and suggestive. Since there is no identification of the compulsion issue, students have no basis on which to judge the question of union membership requirements or "union security" agreements, such as the closed shop, maintenance of membership, and/or the"agency shop". These are critical issues in today's labor relations and are the basis for the hotly contested 14(b) of the Taft Hartley Act which allows states to pass Right to Work laws.

TEXT EVALUATION

PERSPECTIVES IN UNITED STATES HISTORY; Peter J. Hovenier, et al; Field Educational Publications, Inc.

Text

> (The Taft-Hartley Act) was a punitive measure against labor(1)... the Taft-Hartley Act was designed ostensibly to stop "unfair" labor practices. The act...urged "right to work" laws by the states which could destroy the union shop(2). (p. 302)

Evaluation

(1) The Taft-Hartley Act deals with labor unions, not "labor". To describe it as "punitive" is to insert opinion. (See Item C, attached.) It was designed, in fact, to stop unfair labor practices, not "ostensibly" to do so. This is biased terminology.

(2) It is misleading to suggest that the Taft-Hartley Act "urged" Right to Work laws. It allowed them, but did not "urge" them.

TEXT EVALUATION

THE PROMISE OF DEMOCRACY, Graff and Bohannan; Rand McNally 1978

TEXT

Breaking Tradition

...Unions were also set up in sections of the country that had blocked organizing in the past. For example, in several southern states, it was illegal to form a union..." (1) pg. 304

End of Chapter, "People at Work", questions:
...Look at the labor-union song on page 278. What other evidence of the notion that there is strength in union can be found in this chapter? (2)

EVALUATION

(1) This is misinformation. Twenty states are Right to Work states which make it illegal to force membership in a union in order to get or maintain a job. It is completely legal in every state to "form a union".

(2) This is direct evidence of a bias. The omission of any discussion of the Right to Work issue in this chapter on "People at Work" which is 33 pages long is a not very subtle indication of the textbook's tone.

NOTE: Unexamined assumptions are the most insidious incidences of bias and the most difficult to overcome. As an integral part of the labor movement, the Right to Work issue deserves some treatment in this discussion. The provision 14(b) of the Taft Hartley Law is a critical and increasingly important question in labor relations and the nation's industrial history. It is the responsibility of educators and textbook publishers to present every issue in its objective entirety and to avoid becoming advocates consciously or unconsciously, for political or ideological positions.

TEXT EVALUATION

PROBLEMS OF DEMOCRACY, POLITICAL, SOCIAL, ECONOMIC; William E. Dunwiddie; Ginn and Company

Text

> ...Union workers strongly resent the "free rider", the fellow who is willing to get the benefits gained by the union but who is unwilling even to pay union dues. One union leader has summarized the feelings of union workers in this way: "We have always felt that it is manifestly unfair that individual employees should be permitted to obtain all of the benefits which result from the collective bargaining process and be subject to none of the obligations of that process." Another has put the argument more colorfully: "The philosophy of the 'free rider' is the philosophy of the chiseler, the tax dodger...the man who rides the train without paying the fare. He enjoys what others have created without paying his share of the freight"(1).
>
> ...This hotly disputed section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act permits states to pass so-called(2) "right-to-work" laws. Nineteen states have laws that prohibit agreements between unions and companies to make union membership a condition of continued employment. (p. 267-268)

Evaluation

(1) This passage presents the "free rider" argument as fact. It is extreme bias to include "one union leader's comment (and "another...more colorfully...") without also including the rebuttal position. The other side of the argument is that the non-union worker is represented by the union whether he wants to be or not. He is a "captive passenger" rather than a "free rider". (It is the unions who demand "exclusive representation", the privilege of being the sole representative of the bargaining unit. That privilege is granted under the Wagner Act of 1935.) Motives for refraining from union membership abound. Many workers do so because their dues pay not just for collective bargaining, but for political campaigns, social and economic propaganda, insurance, etc., some or all of which they may not wish to support.

It is also not true that all "union workers strongly resent" workers who do not choose to join the union. In a survey conducted by the Roper Organization in March, 1977, 49% of the union members surveyed favored the working arrangement in which "a man can hold a job whether or not he belongs to a union", over the arrangement in which "a man can get a job if he doesn't already belong, but has to join after he is hired."

(2) "So-called" lends an aura of illegitimacy to legitimate laws. (See Item A, attached.) Also, twenty states now have Right to Work laws.

TEXT EVALUATION

THE SHAPING OF AMERICA (THE SHAPING OF AMERICAN CIVILIZATION SINCE 1865); Richard O. Curry, John G. Sproat, & Kenyon C. Crawer; Winston Press, 1972

Text

In the early 1900's, labor and management clashed over still another issue. Unions favored the closed shop, to protect workers from cheap labor. Management favored the open shop, stressing the worker's right to choose whether or not to join a union. Finley Peter Dunne, an American humorist who wrote in an Irish brogue, commented on the situation through his character, "Mr. Dooley":

"What's all this that's in the papers about the open shop?" asked Mr. Hennessy.

"Why, don't ye know?" said Mr. Dooley. "Really, I'm surprized at yer ignorance, Hinnissey. What is th' open shop? Sure, 'tis where they kape the doors open to accommodate th' constant stream av min comin' in t' take jobs cheaper than th' min what has the jobs. 'Tis like this, Hinnissey: Suppose wan av these freeborn citizens is workin' in an open shop f'r th' princely wage av wan large iron dollar a day av tin hour. Along comes anither son-av-gun and he sez t' th' boss, "Oi think Oi could handle th' job nicely f'r ninety cints." "Sure," sez th' boss, and th' wan dollar man gets out into th' crool woruld t' exercise hiz in-alienable roights as a freeborn American citizen an' scab on some other poor devil. An' so it goes on, Hinnessey. An' who gits the benefit? Thrue, it saves th' boss money, but he don't care no more f'r money thin he does his right eye.

"It's all principle wid him. He hates t' see min robbed av their indipindence. They must have their indipindence, regard-less av anything else.'

"'But,' said Mr. Hennessey, 'these open-shop min ye menshun say they are f'r unions if properly conducted.'

"'Shure,' said Mr. Dooley, 'if properly conducted. An' there we are: an' how would they have them conducted? No strikes, no rules, no contracts, no scales, hardly iny wages, an' dam' few mimbers.'"

Evaluation

As in integral part of the labor movement, the Right to Work issue deserves some treatment in any discussion. The provision 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act is a critical and increasingly political issue in labor relations and the nation's industrial history.

(continued)

Particularly in conjunction with this discussion, the "Open Shop Controversy", we believe there should be a recognition of the Right to Work viewpoint and some recognition of its historical significance. This "explanation" of the open shop controversy is blatantly biased in the absence of any rebuttal viewpoint. This is particularly true in light of the recent Roper Survey in March, 1977, in which 49% of the union members surveyed favored the working arrangement in which "a man can get a job whether or not he belongs to a union", over the arrangement in which "a man can get a job if he doesn't already belong, but has to join after he is hired."

To submit this fictional characterization as the only argument in a discussion of the "open shop" or Right to Work issue is to take liberties with all sense of intellectual and educational integrity. There are many factual presentations that exist to enlarge on the discussion. (See Items B, D, and E, attached.)

TEXT EVALUATION

THE STORY OF LABOR IN AMERICAN HISTORY, A RESOURCE UNIT FOR SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL AMERICAN HISTORY; John C. Matlon; Minnesota AFL-CIO and the Minnesota Federation of Teachers

Text

(Under Outline of Content heading)

2. Nevertheless, anti-labor(1) "right-to-work" laws were enacted in 1946 by Arizona, South Dakota, and Nebraska. (p. 20)

(Under Teaching Procedures heading)

55. Copy, verifax, or make a transparency of the map depicting states which have enacted right to work legislation which appears in the appendix...The following are some of the questions which might be asked.

a. Why is the title "right to work a misnomer?(2)
b. Why are these laws enacted?
c. Economically speaking, what type of states tend to have right to work laws?(3)
d. Politically speaking?
e. Is this information up to date?(4)
f. What is the trend in the enactment of this law by other states? Why? (p. 38)

(In Appendix)

"The Shame of the States" cartoon (p. 62)

Evaluation

NOTE: This publication, since it is published by a labor union, is obviously going to present the issue of compulsion vs. Right to Work in a biased manner. We believe it is important that teachers present both sides of all issues in the classroom

(1) Right to Work laws are not anti-labor. They protect the rights of the labor force by protecting the right of each worker to join a union of not, as he sees fit. The meaning of the term "labor" should not be confused with the term "labor union" or "labor union official". (See Item C, attached.)

(2) This question is loaded. It presumes that the title Right to Work is a "misnomer", when in fact, right to work laws protect the right of each worker to work whether or not he/she joins a union or pays a service fee.

(continued)

(3) The implication here is that Right to Work laws work against the economic interests of workers, when, in fact, there is evidence to the contrary. Government statistics continually show that Right to Work states have the most favorable economic climate in all respects. (See Item D, attached.)

(4) The information referred to, a map depicting states with Right to Work legislation, is not up to date. The fault for this lies not with the publishers of The Story of Labor in American History, but by having the teacher call the attention of the students to the fact that the materials are out of date, the question discredits the Right to Work issue. (The map referred to was printed in 1956.) There are now 20 states who have Right to Work laws.

(5) The use of this cartoon with no attempt to balance the presentation is incredible bias in an educational context. "Union security" is a euphemism used by labor union officials for compulsory unionism. In reality, these are arrangements made between unions and employers to force workers to pay the union either in "union shop" or "agency shop" agreements. In both cases, the individual worker has no free choice; he must pay or be fired.

TEXT EVALUATION

SUCCEEDING IN THE WORLD OF WORK; Kimbrell & Vineyard; McKnight Publishing Company, 1975

Text

About 17 million workers in the United States belong to labor unions. About half of them are factory workers, such as those involved in the production of automobiles. Many others are carpenters, electricians, plumbers, or other skilled craftsmen. They pay dues to the union ranging from about $8 to more than $30 a month -- in addition to an initiation fee that often runs more than $100 when they become members. Why do so many workers join unions? They join unions because it is beneficial for them to do so, as we shall see.(1)

Evaluation

(1) Another reason many workers join unions is because of union shop agreements in which an employee must join the union or be fired. Only in 20 states does a law now exist protecting workers from this and other forms of compulsory unionism.

Right to Work supporters believe every person should have an equal right not to join a union if he or she so desires. In a career text discussing the world of work we believe a discussion of the Right to Work issue is necessary to balance this implication that unionism is always freely chosen because of the "benefits".

TEXT EVALUATION

TODAY'S PROBLEMS: SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC ISSUES FACING AMERICA; Revised by C.H.W. Pullen & James F. Reed; Allyn and Bacon, Inc.

Text

> ...The Act also made it possible for states to pass "right-to-work" laws, which are actually laws to make the open shop compulsory. More than a dozen states now have such laws(1). Union leaders were vigorous in their condemnation of the Taft-Hartley legislation after Congress had passed it over President Truman's veto. They charge that Taft-Hartley and "right-to-work" legislation are "union-busting" laws...(2) (p. 521)

Evaluation

(1) Eleven states already had Right to Work laws when the Taft-Hartley Act was passed, and 20 states (considerably more than a dozen) have them now.

(2) This presentation is one-sided. It states union opposition to the Taft-Hartley Act and Right to Work laws without stating support of them. The Right to Work law is not "union-busting", but is an issue of freedom of choice, protecting all workers' rights to join or not to join a union. It does not interfere with legitimate union activity as is evidenced by the growth of unions in Right to Work states. (See Item B, attached.)

TEXT EVALUATION

TOIL AND TROUBLE: A HISTORY OF AMERICAN LABOR; Thomas R. Brooks; Delta Books

Text

> Unlike most Federal legislation, Taft-Hartley in the so-called(1) States Rights clause gave the states the right to pass legislation that could override provisions of the national labor law. As a result, some 21 states passed so-called(2) right-to-work laws following the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act(3). The common feature of this legislation is the strong anti-union bias(4). The union-shop and maintenance-of-membership clauses in union contracts, as well as *the closed shop* (forbidden by Taft-Hartley) are outlawed. While the Taft-Hartley Act permits union discipline of and discharge of any employee who fails to pay his dues, even this minimum discipline is illegal under right-to-work legislation(5).

Evaluation

(1) The use of "so-called" lends an aura of illegitimacy to legitimate laws. (See Item A, attached.)

(2) Same as No. (1) above.

(3) Eleven states had Right to Work laws before passage of the Taft-Hartley Act.

(4) The statement that "the common feature of this legislation is the strong anti-union bias" is opinion, not fact. Right to Work laws are neither pro-union nor anti-union. They protect the right of each worker to join a union, or not, as he sees fit.

(5) To teach high school students that "union discipline of and discharge of any employee who fails to pay his dues" is a "minimum discipline" is a gross understatement as well as a violation of integrity. The loss of one's job surely can be considered a maximum penalty under any circumstances. For no reason other than the non-payment of a fee is certainly a travesty of justice.

TEXT EVALUATION

UNDERSTANDING OUR GOVERNMENT, WITH CASES AND PROBLEMS; George Bruntz & Ronald B. Edgerton; Ginn and Company

Text

> ...In addition, various states have taken steps to weaken the power of organized labor by adopting so-called(1) right-to-work laws(2). These do away with the closed shop and permit workers to join or not join a labor union...(p. 462)

Evaluation

(1) "So-called" lends an aura of illegitimacy to legitimate laws. (See Item A, attached.)

(2) The statement that the states have "taken steps to weaken the power of organized labor" in passing Right to Work laws is opinion, not fact. Right to Work laws make no infringement on any legitimate functions of labor unions. They protect the rights of union and non-union members alike. In fact, union membership in Right to Work states has increased more than in non-Right to Work states as is evidenced in Item B, attached.

TEXT EVALUATION

UNIONS AND WHAT THEY DO; Sidney Lens; Putnam, Inc.

Text

There are three forms of union security(1). Under the union shop -- the most prevalent one by far -- the employer may hire anyone he pleases, but after thirty or more days that employee must join the union as a condition of employment. All workers must become union members. A second form -- maintenance of membership -- provides that an employee does not have to join the union if he does not want to, but once he does, he must remain a member for at least a year. In some of the twenty states which have right to work laws, unions have devised a third type of union security, the agency shop(2). That means that a worker does not have to join the union or participate in its activities, but he must pay the equivalent of union dues for the organization's upkeep.

Some people argue that all this amounts to compulsory unionism -- forcing a worker to belong to a union against his will. Twenty of the less industrial states(3) have made it illegal to negotiate agreements with union security clauses.

But labor leaders give a number of reasons for insisting on the union shop (the other two forms are relatively rare)(4). The most persuasive one is that a man who gets benefits from a union contract but refuses to join is a free rider. He gets something for nothing. American labor laws are different from those in other countries. In the United States a union must negotiate for all workers in the bargaining unit...(5)

In a sense the union shop is similar to conditions imposed on the residents of the country. Every resident must pay taxes. Even if he is not a citizen, he must pay. And if he is a citizen, it does not matter whether he votes Democratic or Republican, whether he likes or dislikes government policies, he still must file an income tax return. That's one of the conditions for living here. Your city government must build schools for you, must repair roads, purify water, install sewers. Your state government and your federal government provide other services -- and whether you're rich or poor, whether you benefit much or only a little from such services, you are required by law to share in their costs.(6)

The same is true of a union: It provides certain services. Those who gain from those services, the unions say, ought to be willing to share the cost for them.(7)

(continued)

Unions also argue that the union shop is needed so that labor can be more nearly equal in bargaining with the employer. The company has a single voice. One man -- the owner or the plant manager -- runs it and makes decisions. The factory, however, employs hundreds or thousands of men and women. If some belong to the union and others do not, the employees cannot speak to their employer out of a position of equal strength. Their ranks are divided, and they are thereby weakened.(8) In states where union security is prohibited, wages are usually considerably lower than in the rest of the country.(9)

Finally, unions point to the fact that workers are not as hostile to joining a labor organization as the public is lead to believe.(10) Under the provisions of the 1947 Taft-Hartley Act, secret ballot elections were required before unions could negotiate union shop agreements. The results were so overwhelming in favor of union security that the act was amended to drop this section. An average of 87 percent of those who voted said they wanted a union shop(11).

Quite a few employers now consider a union shop beneficial because it eliminates disharmony. In nonunion shops the union is constantly trying to win the allegiance of nonmembers by processing their grievances. Some of those grievances are deliberately contrived just to recruit new forces. Many employers, therefore, have come to the conclusion that there is more peace and harmony when a union shop(12). (pp. 72-75)

Section 14-b of the Taft-Hartley Act conferred on the states the right to outlaw union security(13) provisions in labor-management contracts. Twenty states thereupon passed right to work laws(14), which, contrary to the name, do not guarantee anyone the right to a job(15). What they do is prohibit the union shop. Their effect is to blunt union organizing campaigns, as well as collective bargaining(16). In an effort to change this state of affairs, therefore, the AFL-CIO has conducted a long drive to repeal Section 14-b, so far unsuccessfully. (p. 130)

Evaluation

(1) The term "union security" should not be used without qualification. Proponents of Right to Work consider that phrase an euphemism for compulsory unionism.

(2) This is incorrect. State Right to Work laws prohibit compulsory "agency shop". A typical Right to Work law reads: It shall be unlawful...as a condition of employment...to require payment of dues, fees, assessments, or charges ...to any organization.

(3) This is incorrect also. Some of the Right to Work states, Texas and North Carolina, for example, are among the most highly industrialized in the nation.

(4) It is incorrect that "the other two forms are relatively rare". The compulsory "agency shop" is common, not rare.

(5) This implies that unions are required to negotiate for all the workers when in actuality the unions demand "exclusive representation", legal under the Wagner Act of 1935. Right to Work supporters object to a "representation" forced upon them that they do not want. The obvious solution to this problem is to allow unions to represent only those who seek their representation and not to bargain for all.

(6) This argument that the "union shop is similar to conditions imposed on the residents of this country", is another expression of the "free rider" argument. The rebuttal is that forced payments are indeed equivalent to taxes, but that taxation is a sovereign power and should be exercised only by the government. No labor union or other private group should claim such powers. In the words of Samuel Gompers, the founder of the American Labor Movement, "All through our society, voluntary organizations carry on activities which benefit a great many who do not contribute any financial or other support". It would be absurd to suggest that these groups should be empowered to compel those whom they suggest they benefit to contribute support.

(7) See Item (5) above; exclusive representation is another form of compulsory unionism.

(8) The argument that the union shop is needed "so that labor can be more nearly equal in bargaining with the employer" overlooks the point that if the union can maintain its membership only by compulsion, then it is obviously not bargaining for advantages which are wanted by all workers.

(9) This argument is presented as fact when, in actuality, figures show that the per capita personal income of workers in Right to Work states showed a greater gain over the ten year period 1966-1976 than of workers in non-Right to Work states. (See Item D, attached.)

NOTE: These figures are even more convincing with the realization that regional disparities in per capita income, when adjusted for regional differences in living costs and taxes, often disappear. In a report from First Chicago World Report, entitled "Is Alabama Richer Than New York?", May 1977, these regional differences were calculated to discover that "the residents of supposedly affluent northern states are often left with lower real after-tax incomes than their southern neighbors.

"...Although unadjusted per capita income was over a thousand dollars higher in New York than in Texas, for example, the higher cost-of-living in New York absorbed the entire difference."

The article's figures show that "six of the ten most affluent states are located in the South, while six of the ten poorest states are in the North."

(10) That workers are not "as hostile to joining a labor organization as the public is lead to believe", even if true, is beside the point. In the first place, if that were true, compulsion would not be necessary, and in the second place, those who don't want to join, even if a minority, should nonetheless be allowed their freedom of choice. Unions have been available to join since the turn of the century, and even today, 20% of the workers in the U.S. are members of a union.

(continued)

(11) Polls refute this argument. In a 1977 survey conducted by the Roper Organization, 49% of the union members surveyed favored the working arrangement in which "a man can hold a job whether or not he belongs to a union", over the arrangement in which he can get a job if he doesn't already belong, but has to join after he is hired.

(12) Even if "quite a few" employers "consider a union shop beneficial because it eliminates disharmony", that should not be an argument for compulsion. Indeed, the elimination of disharmony through compulsion is hardly a goal that should be supported anywhere in a democratic society.

(13) See No. (1) above.

(14) Eleven states had Right to Work laws before passage of the Taft-Hartley Act. Nine have subsequently passed them.

(15) The suggestion that Right to Work laws function "contrary to the name" obviously instills bias.

(16) There is no evidence to support the statement that "their effect was to blunt union organizing campaigns". In fact, there is evidence that union growth in the Right to Work states surpasses that in the non-Right to Work states. (See Item B, attached.) Also, Right to Work laws have no effect whatsoever on collective bargaining.

NOTE: This extensive argument for compulsory unionism, which goes on for several pages, is prefaced by a one-sentence statement of the opposing argument. As a text to be used in high school social studies classes, it is an extreme example of a biased presentation of an issue. Fairness and integrity would demand supplemental materials discussing the Right to Work proponents' view to balance this teaching of the labor movement.

TEXT EVALUATION

THE UNITED STATES; Hofstadter, Miller, and Aaron; 3rd edition; Prentice Hall, Inc., 1972

Text

> This act outlawed the closed shop, forced unions to accept a sixty-day "cooling-off period" before striking, forbade them to contribute to political campaigns, put an end to the check-off system by which employers helped collect union dues(1), and required union leaders to file affidavits that that they were not communists before their unions could enjoy privileges under the National Labor Relations Board. Labor leaders denounced Taft-Hartley as a "slave-bill," but it did not prevent them from making substantial gains. From 1945 to 1952, union membership rose from 14.6 million to 17 million.(2)

Evaluation

(1) This is a false statement; the check-off was made legal by Section 302(c)(4) of Taft-Hartley. Two small limitations were imposed which might lead to this assumption: a) The check-off had to be specifically authorized in writing by each employee, b) the check-off agreement could not be made irrevocable for a period longer than one year.

(2) As an integral part of the labor movement, the Right to Work issue deserves some treatment in any discussion of the Taft-Hartley Law. The provision 14(b) of this law that allows states to pass Right to Work laws, is a critical and increasingly political issue in labor relations and the nation's industrial history. We object to this omission.

TEXT EVALUATION

USING ECONOMICS; Howard L. Hurwitz, Frederick Shaw, and Jacob Irgang; William H. Sadlier, Inc.

Text

The union shop.

A major union demand in bargaining with employers is the establishment of a union shop. When the union shop exists, employees must be members of the union when they are employed, or must join it shortly after getting their jobs. They must remain union members in good standing in order to keep their jobs.

Until 1947, unions usually tried to gain acceptance of the closed shop. Under this arrangement, workers had to be union members before they could be employed. The employer was not free to hire anyone who was not a union member. The closed shop was declared illegal by the Taft-Hartley Act of 1947, and the union shop arrangement was brought forward by labor(1) to take its place. Where unions are strongly established, there is not much difference, in practice, between the union shop and the closed shop.

The union shop is defended by labor spokesmen, who maintain that unions cannot function effectively unless they have 100% membership in a given shop. If some of the employees are not union members, and do not have to become members, the employer can undermine the union by pitting one group of workers against the other. He can show favoritism to non-union members, and also seek to hire people who are known to be opposed to unions. Besides, it is argued, how can a union maintain discipline in a shop and guarantee full compliance with the contract if some of the workers are beyond its authority? Since the union in an open shop is necessarily insecure, it will be likely to go to extremes and make unreasonable demands on the employer to convince the workers that it is fighting for their interests.(2)

Another argument is that unless there is a union shop, non-union members will benefit from efforts and sacrifices made by union members. These non-union members will accept the higher pay scale and other advantages gained by the union, and they will not even pay dues for the privilege. They will enjoy a "free ride"(3) at the expense of the people working alongside them.

Many employers disagree. They assert that it is a violation of freedom and personal rights to force a worker to join a union to keep his job. They argue that this gives the unions a monopoly over jobs and gives union leaders more power than they can be trusted to use in the public interest. The result in many cases, is corruption, racketeering, and dictatorial methods. Workers, as well as employers, are the victims of this. Supporters of

(continued)

the open shop say that an American worker should not have to join a union unless he wants to, and that employers should not be forced to serve as instruments for building a union's membership and upholding its power.

"Right-to-work" laws.

Although Federal law guarantees the right of unions to organize workers and to enter into contracts calling for a union shop, Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act also permits individual states to outlaw "compulsory" union membership. Such "right to work" laws, as they are sometimes called, have been enacted in a number of states (nineteen as of 1970). The laws differ somewhat in details, but they all provide that no worker shall be required to join a union as a condition of obtaining a job or keeping a job. In short, the closed shop or union shop is outlawed.

Union supporters, naturally, are opposed to such legislation, for the reasons stated above. Many employers are just as strongly in favor. It is significant that "right-to-work" laws have been enacted mainly in states where industry is not highly developed and unions are not particularly strong.(4)

For a number of years, labor(5) strongly backed repeal of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act. President Lyndon B. Johnson supported this campaign, but Congress failed to act. By the 1970's however, it had become quite clear that the right-to-work laws, although obnoxious to labor "in principle", were not being interpreted or applied in such a way as to have any significant effect on the organization or functioning of unions. Accordingly, the demand for repeal was no longer pushed by labor. This is just one example of how a labor-management issue which for a time appears to be of "burning importance" may be quietly adjusted to the satisfaction of both sides, although neither side apparently is able to impose its will on the other. Indeed, it may well be that most satisfactory and lasting arrangements are of this general type. (pp. 366-368)

...On the other hand, labor spokesmen have held that the law is basically misdirected because its real purpose is not to reform unions but rather to prevent them from carrying on their proper functions in a vigorous and effective way(6). Among the provisions which have been singled out for such criticism is the the one which bars picketing for organizational purposes at a non-union shop. This, it has been emphasized, has little or no impact on large and powerful unions, such as the Teamsters, in which corruption has been most serious, and which were supposed to be the special targets of the "reforms." The provision, rather, is far more likely to handicap the efforts to organize workers in areas and industries where unions have not gained a foothold, and where wages and other conditions are likely to be substandard. (p. 390)

(continued)

Evaluation

(1) The use of the the term "labor" throughout this discussion should really be "labor union officials" since it is the union arguments being set forth. (See Item C, attached.) In a closed shop, the union has control over hiring of workers. In a union shop, the employee has the right to hire his employees regardless of membership.

(2) These arguments are put forth as facts, pitting the employer and "labor" on the opposite sides, when in fact, compulsory unionism is not favored by all union members themselves. (In a 1977 survey conducted by the Roper organization, 49% of the union members polled favored the working arrangement in which "a man can hold a job whether or not he belongs to a union" over the arrangement in which "a man can get a job if he doesn't already belong, but has to join after he is hired.")

(3) The "free rider" argument is based on the practice of exclusive representation wherein the union has demanded the right to be the monopoly representative for all workers, denying anyone else the right to bargain. (This concept was allowed by the National Labor Relations Act of 1935.) Polls indicate that even union members do not agree with exclusive representation. (See Item E, attached.) The obvious solution is to have unions bargain only for their own members.

(4) Right to Work laws are always called just that. There are 20 states with such laws. It has been shown that it is not only "employers" who favor the Right to Work concept. The ending sentence implies that such laws hinder union growth when, in fact, this is not true. (See Item B, attached.) Some very highly industrialized states, Texas and North Carolina, for example, are Right to Work states.

(5) The term "labor" is misused here. What is meant is "labor union officials." (See Item C, attached.)

(6) This argument by union leaders is not valid as has been shown in Item B.

NOTE: We believe it is essential in a high school text that when arguments are put forth on either side of an issue, comparable arguments be presented to balance the discussion. The Right to Work issue is much more than a "management vs. labor" argument and the distortion of facts can often occur when it is viewed in that light.

TEXT EVALUATION

YOU AS AN EMPLOYEE IN THE WORLD OF WORK; University of Hawaii

Text

> Most workers who join a union do so voluntarily, although in some cases, membership is a requirement for work. Unions claim that because every worker benefits from the contract, each one should pay his share of the expenses of the union activity which produces the contract(1)...(p. 76-77)
>
> Union security(2) may be defined as any provision in a contract designed to protect the organization from the undermining or erosion of its numerical strength.
>
> Union security is important to collective bargaining because a union gains its strength through member support. All workers in the bargaining unit benefit from collective bargaining, and the union is required by law to represent them all, whether or not they are members. Thus, workers who are not members and who do not pay dues weaken the union(3).

Evaluation

> NOTE: This resource unit for students studying labor was produced by the Center for Labor-Management Education, University of Hawaii, in cooperation with many of the state's labor unions and organizations. It is endorsed by the State Industry-Education-Labor Coordinating Council. Although the Right to Work is not mentioned directly, compulsory unionism is discussed.

(1) This union claim is not balanced by the fact that it was the unions that demanded and got exclusive representation...the privilege of bargaining for all members of a company's bargaining unit (Wagner Act, 1935). The non-union worker is represented by the union whether he wants to be or not. The equitable solution would be to allow non-union members to bargain for themselves.

(2) "Union security" should not be used without qualification. Proponents of the Right to Work consider the phrase a euphemism for compulsory unionism, since these are special arrangements made between a union and an employer to guarantee union fees or dues. Such arrangements are "the union shop" in which all employees must join the union representing the majority of the employees, and the "agency shop" in which a worker does not have to join the union, but must pay a "service fee" to the union in order to keep his job. Either way, he can be fired if he doesn't pay.

(3) See numbers (1) and (2) above.

TEXT EVALUATION

YOUR WORK AND YOUR CAREER; Bertram L. Linder & Edwin Selzer; William H. Sadlier, Inc.

Text

Many employers favor the open shop(1). If few of their employees are union members, the union is likely to be weak. The union cannot claim to speak for all the workers in a plant. How could a strike be called by such a union hope to be effective? More than likely, the nonunion workers would cross union picket lines. The employer is generally under no great pressure to negotiate with the strikers in such matters as job security, wages, and fringe benefits(2).

In a union shop, newly hired workers must become union members after they have been on the job for a certain specified period of time. Why do union workers strongly favor a union shop(3)? Most workers with a knowledge of the history of labor unions realize that only collective strength has enabled unions to attain higher wages, shorter hours, and improvements in working conditions. In fact, every worker today receives higher wages and all other benefits because union members in the past struggled so hard to attain them. Union workers feel that it is only right and just for all new workers to join the union since they are enjoying all the benefits for which the union fought. To them, joining a union is not only a way of preserving the collective strength needed to win new gains for workers; it is also a way of paying a debt to those union members who struggled in the past(4).

Seventeen states, most of them with little industry, have enacted right-to-work laws which outlaw the union shop. These states are Arizona, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Iowa, Kansas, Mississippi, Nebraska, Nevada, North Carolina, North Dakota, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Utah, Virginia, and Wyoming(5).

Labor unions, of course, strongly oppose right-to-work laws. They argue that in most states having these laws, wages are low(6). Factory workers in these states earn much less than factory workers in other states. Union leaders maintain that right-to-work laws interfere with the union in organizing workers(7). These leaders insist that the union shop bolsters union strength and is in the best interest of all workers.(8) (pp. 65-66)

Evaluation

(1) This sentence misleads the reader into believing that only employers favor the open shop. The open shop, or the Right to Work, is supported by people from all corners of society, union and non-union members alike. (In a survey conducted by the Opinion Research Corporation in March 1977, 49% of the union members surveyed favored the working arrangement in which "a man can hold a job whether or not he belongs to a union", over the arrangement in which "a man can get a job if he doesn't already belong, but has to join after he is hired".)

(continued)

(2) The conclusions made in this paragraph reflect an obvious bias. The argument being made throughout the paragraph is based on the presumption that a union, even though supported by "few employees", is nevertheless, desirable.

It is true that if few employees are union members, then the union is likely to be weak. However, if few employees are union members, then most employees don't want to be union members. Of course, such a union "can not claim to speak for all the workers in a plant". Why should it? If this theoretical union can maintain membership only by compulsion, then obviously its aims are at odds with those of its potential membership.

(3) Union workers do not "strongly favor a union shop". (See (1) above.)

(4) This is not fact, but opinion. It is another expression of the free rider argument. The other side of the argument is that the non-union worker is represented by the union whether he wants to be or not. (It is the unions who demanded and got "exclusive representation", the privilege of being the sole representative of the bargaining unit. That privilege is granted under the Wagner Act of 1935.)

(5) This statement is incorrect. Twenty states have Right to Work laws. Alabama, Louisiana, and Texas are missing from the list.

(6) Governmental statistics prove these economic arguments are false when taken in light of the cost-of-living index. Workers in what union officials like to describe as "poorer" Sun Belt states have more buying power than those in the Big Labor-dominated Northeast, according to an economic study by Alan Reynolds, a Vice President of the First National Bank of Chicago. "Our calculations indicate that real after-tax incomes are now significantly lower in New York and Massachusetts than in, say, Arkansas and Alabama," says Reynolds in his "First Chicago World Report". (See Item D, attached.)

(7) Labor statistics disprove this claim by showing that the growth of union membership in Right to Work states has exceeded that of non-Right to Work states. (See Item B, attached.)

(8) This entire paragraph , aside from being factually inaccurate, gives all the arguments made by union officials against the Right to Work and none of the arguments for it.

IV. SUPPLEMENTS TO EVALUATIONS

UNIONS THRIVING IN RIGHT TO WORK STATES

The fact that unions are growing in states with laws prohibiting forced support for labor organizations is illustrated by studies by the U.S. Labor Department's Bureau of Labor Statistics. As the following documented figures reveal, AFL-CIO membership is increasing at a faster pace in the 19* Right to Work states than in the remaining states. Between 1962 and 1974 the labor federation registered net membership gains in all Right to Work states and suffered net losses in seven of the remaining states. The AFL-CIO averaged 45,211 new members in each of the Right to Work states and only 39,783 new members in each of the remaining states.

Right to Work States

States	1962	1974	Gain
Alabama	185,000	199,000	14,000
Arizona	76,000	98,000	22,000
Arkansas	72,000	95,000	23,000
Florida	150,000	317,000	167,000
Georgia	120,000	221,000	101,000
Iowa	100,000	152,000	52,000
Kansas	85,000	95,000	10,000
Mississippi	45,000	76,000	31,000
Nebraska	50,000	72,000	22,000
Nevada	18,000	59,000	41,000
North Carolina	80,000	116,000	36,000
North Dakota	15,000	19,000	4,000
South Carolina	40.000	72,000	32,000
South Dakota	17,000	18,000	1,000
Tennessee	150,000	244,000	94,000
Texas	350,000	472,000	122,000
Utah	45,000	51,000	6,000
Virginia	100,000	178,000	78,000
Wyoming	17,000	20,000	3,000
TOTALS	1,715,000	2,574,000	859,000
AVERAGES	90,263	135,474	45,211

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, June 1976

*These are the most current statistics we have available, however, since the time they were compiled, Louisiana enacted a Right to Work law, thus making it the twentieth Right to Work state.

So-Called Comment on 'So-Called'

The editorial reprinted below is particularly appropriate in view of the occasional use of the phrase "so-called Right to Work laws" in stories about the issues of compulsory vs. voluntary unionism.

For your information the World Book Encyclopedia defines a Right to Work law as one which "provides that a person need not belong to a union to get or keep a job." Encyclopedia Britannica defines them as "... state laws forbidding various union security measures ... under which workers are required to join a union within a specified time after they begin employment ..." And Encyclopedia Americana says, "The laws state that no one shall be denied the right to work because of membership or non-membership in a labor union. That is, union membership or non-membership cannot be a condition of obtaining or continuing in employment."

The use of the phrase "so-called" in connection with Right to Work very likely stems from the charge by union officials that a Right to Work law is a misnomer. But if, as the unions argue, the three-word term is inaccurate, what about the work "labor" to describe the minority special interests promoted by officials of organized labor?

So-Called Comment on 'So-Called'

An Editorial From the Houston, Tex., Chronicle

THE LITTLE grammatical gimmick "so-called" is a phrase which we'd like to see dropped from news stories, articles of political comment and loaded phrases. You only use it when you are trying to make somebody or something look bad.

• • •

FOR EXAMPLE, there are liberals and conservatives and Democrats and Republicans. But that's not quite the same as so-called liberals, so-called conservatives, so-called Democrats or so-called Republicans. Preceding a noun with this phrase is a way of holding your nose in print. And that doesn't contribute anything to the power or the logic or the persuasiveness of an argument.

Take a simple sentence: "Mr. Jones is the father of two boys." Now try it this way: "Mr. Jones is the so-called father of two so-called boys." In this second sentence it's quite obvious we think poorly of Mr. Jones and his boys, but we aren't straight-forward enough to say it or to explain our reasons for it.

• • •

"SO-CALLED" is a snide, sneaky expression, and we don't like it. That is our opinion. But we realize that some other so-called persons have their own so-called opinions and they won't pay any attention at all to this so-called line of reasoning.

Item C

The Times-Advocate

Virginia's Oldest and Largest Labor Newspaper

THE TIDEWATER TIMES ESTABLISHED 1902 — VIRGINIA LABOR ADVOCATE ESTABLISHED 1918

Independently Devoted to the Labor Movement, a Triangle of Interests—the Public, Employer and Employee—Justice to Each Depending Upon Its Fairness to the Other.

HUGH RAWLETT McKAY, Publisher

Member Norfolk-Portsmouth Typographical Union for Over 50 Years

AWARD WINNING NEWSPAPER

NEA AND NWN SERVICE

Published Every Thursday, 530 35th St. 23508—Norfolk, Va.—Dial 622-2260

NORFOLK, VA., THURSDAY, JANUARY 6, 1977

Who Is Labor?

Possibly one of the factors contributing to the general confusion relating to Labor and its relations is our general carelessness in the definition of terms.

On a par with the time honored "they say" without ever an ample definition of who "they" are, has been our constant misunderstanding regarding the word "Labor".

Who is "Labor"? When we talk of "Labor's gains" or "Labor's loss", just what do we mean—and more important—WHO DO WE MEAN?

We do not know of many people who have ever stopped to consider just what that term implies—and many people have built up their own ideas of the classification—as a matter of fact we dare say that many hundreds of thousands or perhaps millions of people have thought of the term "Labor" abstractly as something very foreign to what it really represents.

"Labor" is not a particularly powerful union leader and Labor is not any one group of unions—IT IS POSITIVELY NOT THE C.I.O. or the A.F.ofL. or any individual or group or delegate to a Labor Union convention or the Labor Union delegate who collects the dues or the initiation fees—or the Labor Council in a particular city.

"LABOR", if it is the English language with which we are concerned, means: ALL OF US WHO ARE GAINFULLY EMPLOYED: THE TOTAL WORKING FORCE OF THE UNITED STATES.

* * * * *

Therefore, when we speak of LABOR we are speaking of the people of our country, and when we speak of something that is good for "Labor" you can be almost certain that if it is good for "Labor" it means that it is good for all the people and for the country in general.

It is important that the term LABOR should never be narrowed down to mean a small handful of Labor Union officials.

Too often this handful of Labor Union officials try to remain in power as representatives of the Unions just as most politicians try to remain in power and thereby direct their efforts toward securing legislation or benefits that may not be in tune with the policy of the Nation.

Labor is America—and not any one individual or any one group of Union leaders or members—and the interests of Labor are the interests of just about 90% of the population of our country, who in one form or another go out every morning to earn a living. And any attempt on the part of any organization, union, labor council, labor paper, etc., to try and monopolize the word "LABOR" is merely an attempt to use that name to justify the demand for a special privilege, and not for the welfare of the country at large.

Growth of States Compared

Item D

Some union spokesmen charge that Right to Work laws are detrimental to the wage-earner's bread-and-butter interests. Their charge is refuted by the documented figures below.

MANUFACTURING JOBS	1966	1976	ACTUAL GAIN	% GAIN
RTW states average	220,900	267,300	46,400	21
Non-RTW states average . .	478,100	438,200	-39,900	- 8
CONTRACT CONSTRUCTION JOBS				
RTW states average	54,250	70,850	16,600	30
Non-RTW states average . .	70,670	69,410	- 1,260	- 1
NON-AGRICULTURAL JOBS				
RTW states average	849,900	1,207,600	357,700	42
Non-RTW states average . .	1,514,300	1,780,300	265,900	18
WEEKLY EARNINGS OF MANUFACTURING WORKERS				
RTW states average	$ 102.05	$ 187.30	$ 85.25	83
Non-RTW states average . .	114.93	215.22	100.29	87
*PER CAPITA PERSONAL INCOME 1966-1976				
RTW states average	$ 2,494	$ 5,771	$ 3.277	131
Non-RTW states average . .	2,993	6,530	3,538	118
NEW HOUSING UNITS AUTHORIZED				
RTW states average	15,290	22,600	7,310	47
Non-RTW states average . .	22,390	26,640	4,250	18
CAPITAL EXPENDITURES FOR MANUFACTURING PLANTS, 1967-1973				
RTW states average	$227,000,000	$673,900,000	$446,900,000	196
Non-RTW states average . .	391,120,000	772,090,000	380,970,000	97

*1975 WORK STOPPAGES	NUMBER	MAN-DAYS LOST
RTW states average	52.0	357,600
Non-RTW states average . .	138.8	787,400

Sources: Statistical Abstract of the U.S., 1977, 1967
*U.S. Department of Labor & U.S. Department of Commerce

Note: Figures for individual states will be supplied by the National Right to Work Committee upon request.

Compulsory Representation Opposed by Public

"As it now stands, labor unions are permitted to represent all employees in a company unit. Do you believe that employees who do not want to be represented by a labor union should have the right to bargain for themselves, or not?"

The question above was addressed to a cross-section of more than 2,000 American adults by Roper Organization interviewers during a nationwide public opinion survey in February 1977.

The right of employees not wanting union representation to bargain for themselves was supported by 70% of all persons interviewed, including:

- 73% of all "liberals,"
- 72% of all "moderates,"
- 72% of all "conservatives,"
- 70% of all blue-collar workers, and
- 58% of all union members.

V. THE FACTS ABOUT RIGHT TO WORK LAWS

Right to Work laws are now in effect in 20 states. The laws are federally sanctioned by Section 14(b) of the Labor-Management Relations Act (the Taft-Hartley Act), a federal statute amending the Wagner Act of 1935. (The Taft-Hartley Act became law on June 23, 1947.) Eleven states, however, had Right to Work laws before passage of the Taft-Hartley Act.

Section 14(b):

> Nothing in this Act shall be construed as authorizing the execution or application of agreements requiring membership in a labor organization as a condition of employment in any State or Territory in which such execution or application is prohibited by State or Territorial law.

STATES WITH RIGHT TO WORK LAWS

By Constitutional Provision:

State	Date of Enactment
Arizona	November 5, 1946
Arkansas	November 7, 1944
Florida	November 7, 1944
Kansas	November 4, 1958
Mississippi*	June 7, 1960
Nebraska	December 11, 1946
South Dakota	July 1, 1947

By Statute:

Alabama	August 28, 1953
Georgia	March 27, 1947
Iowa	April 28, 1947
Louisiana	July 9, 1976
Nevada	December 4, 1952
North Carolina	March 18, 1947
North Dakota	June 29, 1948
South Carolina	March 19, 1954
Tennessee	February 21, 1947
Texas	April 8, 1947
Utah	May 10, 1955
Virginia	January 12, 1947
Wyoming	February 8, 1963

*In Mississippi, the Right to Work is also sanctioned by statute.

(continued)

Below is the text of a typical Right to Work law. Although the actual wording may vary from state to state, they are all based on the premise that no person should be compelled, as a condition of employment, to join or not to join a union.

SAMPLE RIGHT TO WORK LAW (IOWA):

Section 736A.1. Right to join union. --It is declared to be the policy of the State of Iowa that no person within its boundaries shall be deprived of the right to work at his chosen occupation for any employer because of membership in, affiliation with, withdrawal or expulsion from, or refusal to join, any labor union, organization, or association, and any contract which contravenes this policy is illegal and void.

Section 736A.2. Refusal to employ prohibited. --It shall be unlawful for any person, firm, association or corporation to refuse or deny employment to any person because of membership in, or affiliation with, or resignation or withdrawal from, a labor union, organization or association, or because of refusal to join or affiliate with a labor union, organization or association.

Section 736A.3. Contracts to exclude unlawful. --It shall be unlawful for any person, firm, association, corporation or labor organization to enter into any understanding, contract, or agreement, whether written or oral, to exclude from employment members of a labor union, organization or association, or persons who do not belong to, or who refuse to join, a labor union, organization or association, or because of resignation or withdrawal therefrom.

Section 736A.4. Union dues as prerequisite to employment prohibited. --It shall be unlawful for any person, firm, association, labor organization or corporation, or political subdivision, either directly or indirectly, or in any manner or by any means as a prerequisite to or a condition of employment to require any person to pay dues, charges, fees, contributions, fines or assessments to any labor union, labor association, or labor organization.

SECTION VI

The following texts do not mention the Right to Work issue in their discussion of the American Labor movement, do not mention the Taft-Hartley Law wherein state Right to Work laws are protected, or both.

As an integral part of the labor movement, the Right to Work issue deserves some treatment in any discussions. The provision, 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Law is a critical and increasingly political issue in labor relations and the nation's industrial history. CEAFU objects to the omission of either of these topics, and believes in the interest of fairness and accuracy these texts should be removed from state official textbook adoption lists and not used by educators until such time that their publishers have taken action to correct this error.

SOCIAL STUDIES TEXTBOOKS EVALUATED BY
CEAFU THAT DO NOT DISCUSS RIGHT TO WORK OR
SECTION 14(b) of THE TAFT HARTLEY LAW

THE ADVENTURE OF AMERICA; Fraser, Yeager; American Book Co., 1966

THE ADVENTURE OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE: A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES; Henry F. Graff, John A. Krout; Liberty Ed., Rand McNally & Co., 1961

AMERICA, AMERICA!, Buggey; Scott Foresman

AMERICA, A MODERN HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES; Freidel & Drewry; D.C. Heath & Co., 1969

AMERICA, A PORTRAIT IN HISTORY; Burner, Marcus, Rosenburg; Prentice-Hall 1978

AMERICA'S POLITICAL SYSTEM (2nd edition); Peter Woll, Robert H. Binstock; Random House, Inc. (Singer School Div.), 1972

AMERICAN GOVERNMENT; Arthur J. Hughes; The Bruce Publishing Co., Milwaukee, 1969

AMERICAN HISTORY; Jack Abramowitz (Revised Edition); Follett Educational Corp., 1971

AMERICAN POLITICAL BEHAVIOR; Howard Mehlinger, John J. Patrick; Ginn and Co., 1972

AN AMERICAN HISTORY; Gruver; Addison-Wesley 1978

THE AMERICAN SPIRIT: US HISTORY AS SEEN BY CONTEMPORARIES, Vols. 1 & 2; Bailey; D.C. Heath, 1971

THE AMERICANS: A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES; Fenton, etc.; Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1970

THE CHALLENGE OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY; Dell, Felder; Allyn & Bacon, Inc., 1974

THE CHALLENGE OF OUR HERITAGE; Gelormino; Oceano, 1970

CONFLICT AND CONSENSUS IN AMERICAN HISTORY; Davis; Heath, 1972

DECISIONS IN UNITED STATES HISTORY, (8th grade); Ginn & Co., 1972

DEMOCRACY; Dorothy Pickles; Harper, 1970

EPISODES IN AMERICAN HISTORY: An Inquiry Approach; Robert Burns; Ginn & Co., 1973

ESSENTIALS OF AMERICAN GOVERNMENT: Schulz; Barron's Pub., 1974

THE FREE AND THE BRAVE, SECOND ED,, (8th grade) (also simplified version), Graff Rand McNally & Co., 1972

A HIGH SCHOOL HISTORY OF MODERN AMERICA, (2nd edition); Boyd C. Shafer, Everett Augspurger, Richard McLemore & Milton Finkelstein; Laidlaw Bros., Inc., 1966

HISTORY OF OUR AMERICAN REPUBLIC, Linden et al; Laidlaw 1979

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HISTORY OF YOUR AMERICA; Brufle; U.S. History Society; 1970

THE HUMAN SIDE OF AMERICAN HISTORY; Richard C. Brown; Ginn & Co., 1970

THE IMPACT OF OUR PAST: A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES; Weisberger; McGraw Webster, 1972

INQUIRIES IN AMERICAN HISTORY SERIES: CONSENSUS/TURMOIL: THE 1950's/1960's; Cummins; INDUSTRIALISM; THE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE; Bruner; Benziger Pub., 1970

INQUIRING ABOUT FREEDOM; Jerry Jennings; Fideler Pub., 1975

INQUIRY, U.S.A.; Glover Kane; Glove Book Co., Inc., 1971

LAND OF THE FREE, (7th grade); Caughey, Benziger, Bruce & Glencoe, 1971

LET FREEDOM RING; Brown Robinson & Cunningham; Silver Burdette 1977

LIBERTY AND UNION: A History of the U.S.; Wilson & Spiero; Houghton Mifflin Co.

LIVING IN OUR AMERICA; Isaac, Quillen; Scott

MAN IN AMERICA; Silver; 1974

MANY PEOPLES, ONE NATION; Peter I. Rose; Random House, Inc., 1973

A NEW HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES; Fenton; Holt, Rinehart, & Winston, 1969

PEOPLE AND OUR COUNTRY; Risjord; Holt, Rinehart & Winston 1978

THE PEOPLE MAKE A NATION; Sandler; Allyn and Bacon, Inc.

POLITICS: THE AMERICAN WAY: Abraham Ribicoff; Allyn, 1973

PROBING AMERICA'S PAST (paper series, Vols. 1 & 2); Bailey; Heath, 1973

PROBLEMS IN AMERICAN HISTORY, Vols. 1 & 2; Richard Leopold;Prentice, 1972

QUEST FOR LIBERTY; (grade 7 & 8), June R. Chapin, Raymond J. McHugh & Richard E. Gross; Field Educational Publications, Inc., 1971

RISE OF AMERICAN NATION, Vol. 2; Todd, Curti, Krug; Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, Inc., 1967

SEARCH FOR IDENTITY; Wiltz; Lippencolt

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THE SHAPING OF AMERICA (THE SHAPING OF AMERICAN CIVILIZATION SINCE 1865), Richard O. Curry, John G. Sproat, & Kenyon C. Cramer; Winston Press; Minneapolis, 1972

THESE UNITED STATES; Shenton et al; Houghton Mifflin 1978

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UNITED STATES HISTORY: SEARCH FOR FREEDOM; Current, et al (also : A DEVELOPING NATION; A WORLD POWER; Current, DeConde, Dante) Scott, Foresman & Co.

THE UNITED STATES: UNDERSTANDING THROUGH INQUIRY; Schreier; American Book Co., 1971

VIEWPOINTS, U.S.A.; Feder; American Book Co.

VOICES OF A NATION; Alleman; Field

WE THE PEOPLE: Richards, Walter Marvin; Benefic

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AMERICA: ITS PEOPLE AND VALUES; Wood et al; Harcourt, race & Jovanovich, 1971, 1975

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AMERICAN HISTORY; Cramer & Johnson

AMERICAN HISTORY FOR TODAY; Margaret Branson; Ginn & Co. 1977

THE AMERICAN PROFILE; Morton Borden; C.C. Heath and Co., 1970

AS IT HAPPENED: A HISTORY OF THE U.S.; Seebers et al.; McGraw-Hill, 1975

BUILDING THE UNITED STATES; Reich; Harcourt, 1971

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CIVICS, RV; Ball & Rosch; Follett Publishing Co.

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COMPREHENSIVE U.S. HISTORY; Roberts; AMSCO Publishing Co., 1970

CONFLICT, POLITICS, AND FREEDOM; Quigley; Ginn and Co., 1972

DISCOVERING AMERICAN HISTORY, Vol. II; Allan O. Kownslar & Donald B. Frizzle; Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1968

THE ECONOMIC PROCESS: Daugherty; Scott; 1969

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FREEDOM & CRISIS, An American History; Weinstein; Random House, 1974

GOALS OF DEMOCRACY: A Problem Approach; McCutchen; MacMillan and Co., 1965

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